

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE

FROM the point of view of the general public, the chief characteristic of the Association's twenty-eighth annual meeting lay in the presence of Colonel Roosevelt, and in the power and charm of the address which he delivered as president and which we print on subsequent pages. The attractive force of his political and literary fame accounts in great measure for the large attendance, which ran to about 450 members, surpassing the number of those brought together on any previous occasion except the quarter-centennial at New York in 1909. Much attractive power lay also in the conjunction of allied societies. The American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the New England History Teachers' Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation all held their meetings in Boston and Cambridge in these same days, December 27 to 31. The intervention of a Sunday among these days gave welcome relief from a programme which was, as is usual, distinctly too congested.

The arrangements made by the local committee deserve all praise and gratitude. The halls and rooms for the sessions were adequate in space (though not in oxygen) and those in Boston were convenient of access to the hotel chosen as headquarters. To many members the choice in the latter respect seemed to have fallen upon a hotel whose rates were unsuitable for academic purses; the point is worth dwelling upon because in most cities a laudable pride will cause the local committee to choose the best hotel, in spite of its expensiveness, while visiting members would in most cases be glad to be housed in modest quarters, and to take on faith the presumption that greater splendors exist elsewhere.

The Massachusetts Historical Society invited the members of the Association to luncheon on one of the days of the sessions, and Harvard University exercised similar hospitality upon another. There was also a reception for the members by President and Mrs. Lowell at Cambridge, tea at Simmons College on one of the afternoons, and "smokers" at the City Club and at the University Club. For all these hospitable entertainments the gratitude of the members was publicly and privately expressed. The sessions ended with a subscription luncheon at the Copley Plaza, at which Professor Albert Bushnell Hart presided, and at which brief addresses were made by Professor Albion W. Small, president of the American Sociological Society, President Samuel C. Mitchell of the University of South Carolina, Professor Talcott Williams of the School of Journalism of Columbia University, and President Eliot.

A characteristic note of the meeting was the prevalence of conferences for the discussion of practical problems, rather than general sessions for the reading of formal papers. The latter, aside from the evening devoted to Colonel Roosevelt's presidential address, were confined to the two last sessions, those of Monday evening, December 30, and of Tuesday forenoon, with the addition of a joint session held with the American Political Science Association on the afternoon of Monday, before the meeting for business. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association also had an open session. Practical conferences on the other hand numbered not fewer than nine, devoted respectively to the work of archivists, to ancient history, to historical bibliography, to military history, to the interests of teachers, to those of state and local historical societies, to medieval history, to American history, and to modern history. In nearly all these conferences the committee on programme and the respective chairmen had almost entire success in bringing about real and lively discussion. Their process consisted in permitting, at each conference, the reading of only one or two formal papers, the texts of which had usually been circulated among those appointed to discuss them, which they were then expected to do with the freedom of oral if not of extemporaneous discourse.

In the sessions devoted to the reading of formal papers, the long-established rule of the society limiting such papers to twenty minutes was frequently disregarded. The results of such excess of speech on the part of those who read—or of leniency on the part of those who preside—are always in some degree injurious to the success of a session, and to the interests of those who come last upon the programme.

The fourth annual conference of archivists, presided over by

Professor Herman V. Ames, was held on Saturday morning, December 28, in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In opening the conference the chairman recalled the organization of the Public Archives Commission at Boston in 1900 and briefly reviewed its work, pointing out what had thus far been accomplished in the way of publishing information respecting public archives and of arousing general interest in and securing legislation for their preservation. The first contribution to the programme was an informal report by Mr. Gaillard Hunt on the archives of the federal government outside the District of Columbia. The most important of these are the archives of the various legations and embassies, which fortunately have never suffered from fire. Thirty-nine field offices in the Indian service have records prior to 1873. Of the offices under the Treasury Department the custom-houses, mints, and assay offices have the most important records. Of the federal courts the only one that has preserved its records from the beginning is that at Hartford. Mr. Hunt's report showed how little attention has been paid to this class of federal archives and made it clear that prompt measures are necessary to ensure the preservation of valuable material.

The conference was devoted mainly to the consideration of a plan for a manual of archive practice or economy, similar in method to the manual of library economy prepared by the American Library Association. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits presented a tentative outline for the manual and indicated the general nature of its contents, dwelling more at length on such matters as official and public use of the archives, sites and plans of archive buildings and their heating, ventilation, and lighting, classification and cataloguing of archives, and the restoration or repair of manuscripts. The general discussion was opened by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who emphasized the utility of profiting from European experience, pointed out the distinction between public archives and historical manuscripts, and reiterated the necessity of observing the principle of the *respect des fonds* in the classification of records. Mr. Dunbar Rowland pointed out the desirability of adopting uniform methods of classification throughout the archives of the various states, urged the adoption of the most liberal regulations respecting the use of archives, and dwelt upon the qualifications of the archivist. The problems of local records were dealt with by Mr. Solon J. Buck and Mr. Herbert O. Brigham, who urged the standardization and abbreviation of forms, eliminating much useless legal verbiage. Mr. James J. Tracy told of his experiences as chief of the Massachusetts Division of Archives and asked for the co-operation of historical and hereditary societies in

securing suitable legislation. The advantage of publicity in arousing general interest in archives was dwelt upon by Dr. Henry S. Burrage and Mr. Thomas C. Quinn.

The conference on ancient history was held in one of the buildings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on the same morning. In the absence of Mr. Fairbanks of the Boston Museum, Professor William S. Ferguson of Harvard presided and introduced Professor George F. Moore, of the same university, who opened the conference with a presentation of Oriental history as a field for investigation. He pointed out that recent explorations had revolutionized the knowledge held a century ago and had raised innumerable fresh problems—problems of race, of language, of chronology, and of intercourse. The fact that Syria was the connecting link between the three centres of ancient civilization would suggest that there the most important discoveries of the future would be made. This speaker was followed by Professor Henry A. Sill, of Cornell University, who, with a wealth of illustration, showed what had been done and what remained to do in the Graeco-Roman field. Among other things he suggested, as work ready to be entered upon, a new edition of Diodorus, and of the fragments of the Greek historians, and a history of ancient historiography. The great mass of material which has been brought to light, much of which is yet unpublished, gives opportunity for a study of the economic and social, as well as the political life of the Greeks and Romans. As special fields in which yet unworked material exists in abundance the speaker suggested the origins of Greek and of Italian civilization, the expansion of Hellenism, Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman days, and the Roman Republic. The chairman, in commenting upon the papers, said that he stood appalled at two things, the number of tools necessary for the work, and the immense fertility of the field. Professor Breasted, of the University of Chicago, in opening the discussion laid still further stress upon the first of these thoughts. The historian of the ancient world must master Oriental philology and archaeology, yet he must primarily be neither a philologist nor an archaeologist if his work is to be acceptable. At the present time he does not possess so much as a satisfactory handbook. This lack must be supplied and a mass of material must be published, as the primary steps. Professor Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, briefly suggested that the great need was for intensive work. Dr. Ralph V. Magoffin, of Johns Hopkins University, advocated extensive work on the history of Roman law, attempts toward synthesis of the results of excavations already made, studies in municipal affairs, and monographs on the Roman em-

perors. Mr. Oric Bates, who closed the discussion, limited his remarks to Libya, a region which he regarded as worthy of far more attention than it had received. The people of ancient Libya were probably of the same race as those north of the Mediterranean, so that problems of ethnology and of philology must be studied here which are closely related to those of Greece and Italy. Materials casting light on problems of trade, of colonization, of culture, are all to be found here. Themes especially in need of investigation are, the connections between Libya and Syria, the relations between the Greek colonists of Cyrene and the natives, and those of the Carthaginians to the races which surrounded them.

The same morning's conference on historical bibliography, presided over by Professor Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, was entirely occupied with the discussion of an exceedingly clever and suggestive paper by Professor Carl Becker of the University of Kansas, on the reviewing of historical books. The speaker began by setting forth the dissatisfaction which he and many others have felt with the present status of the art of reviewing historical books in this country. He believed the main faults of the system to be due to the attempt to combine in one notice of a book two elements essentially different, on the one hand presentation of purely bibliographical data respecting the form, content, sources, and characteristics of a book, and on the other hand an attempt at critical discourse concerning it, shaped in accordance with literary traditions which in the main are inappropriate to the task as actually executed. Many books, he declared, did not at all require this ambitious and pseudo-literary treatment. On the other hand, we need a much greater amount of critical writing of a high order. He therefore advocated a segregation of the bibliographical or non-critical data respecting all books noticed, the undisputed descriptive facts concerning them, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the critical articles in which *some* books, deserving such fuller treatment or lending themselves to it appropriately, should be made the theme of more intellectual discussion and of appreciations more useful toward the improvement of the historical art. The managing editor of this journal expressed his appreciation of the value of Mr. Becker's thoughts, and agreed with cordiality that benefit should be derived from them in the conduct of, for instance, such a journal as this; but he believed that practical obstacles stood in the way of carrying out in its entirety so drastic a programme. He dwelt upon the evils which he has felt to exist in the reviewing of historical books among us—the frequent inadequacy, the insufficient amount of penetrating thought, the rareness with which the higher levels of criticism are

reached, and above all, the excess of leniency which, he held, constantly characterized the bulk of the reviews which it is his function to print. He of course disclaimed all desire for slashing reviews, bad manners, or unkindness; and he duly valued the amiability of his profession and the unreserved amenity which can now characterize the meetings of reviewer and reviewed at the sessions of the American Historical Association. But he believed that our book notices could never do what they ought for the improvement of our profession if the writers of signed or unsigned reviews shirked their duty of setting forth deficiencies with an unsparing hand.

Mr. W. Dawson Johnston, librarian of Columbia University, took up the subject from the librarians' point of view, expressing their wish for a greater mass of bibliographical notes, helpful in the choice of books, more critical notes, more analysis, showing contents not shown by titles, and the like. Others, speaking from the same point of view, made evident the need of criticisms that follow quickly upon publication, and of larger and more systematic information on foreign books, while teachers and investigators desired a greater number of those surveys of recent literature and recent progress in special fields which this journal has occasionally afforded, and which it will endeavor more often to provide in the future.

The session on military history, of Saturday morning, was a conference between representatives of the military and the historical profession for the discussion of a practical problem—how to establish the scientific study of military history, making its results of value to the soldier, the civilian, and the nation.¹ The conference was presided over in turn by Professor Hart and Professor William A. Dunning. Professor R. M. Johnston of Harvard, who opened the discussion, spoke of the disrepute into which old-fashioned military history had justly fallen, the growing attention to the subject, especially its technical phases, in Europe, indicated the wealth of material for American military history, and urged the furthering of the study through such methods as the co-operation of military and historical experts, the greater recognition of military history at army headquarters, the establishment of seminar work in the universities, and the founding of a journal and a national society. Captain Arthur L. Conger, of the Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, maintained that any real solution of the problem must include the creation of an historical section of the General Staff. Mr. Oswald G. Villard, who may be said to have represented the civilian pacifist, feared that such a solution would result in the writing of history with a

¹ A stenographic report of the conference is printed in the *Infantry Journal*, January-February, 1913, pp. 545-578.

biased point of view, although an historical section of the General Staff might well work for the development of instruction in history in the military schools. He hoped rather for the organization of a national civilian society in which military men should participate. Colonel T. L. Livermore, U. S. A. retired, stated that he had long urged the creation of an historical section of the General Staff, and asserted his belief in the ability of the soldier to write history unbiased by his profession; he thought also that the time had come for the establishment of a national society for military history. Professor F. M. Fling of Nebraska was of the opinion that military history should be dealt with by military men with historical training and pointed out the necessity of laying a foundation in detailed studies. Major J. W. McAndrew of the Army War College, detailed by the War Department to attend the conference, held that for the successful study of military history the collaboration of military men and historians was indispensable. He advocated the creation of an historical section of the General Staff and maintained that an important purpose of military history was to demonstrate to the nation the cost of unpreparedness. Major George H. Shelton, editor of the *Infantry Journal*, felt that the start in the right direction lay through the General Staff and asked for the encouragement of the American Historical Association in securing the necessary legislation. The discussion was brought to a close by the president of the association, Colonel Roosevelt, who declared that military history could not be treated as something apart from national history. Military history should be written primarily by military men and under the observation of the General Staff, but with the collaboration of civilian historians. He emphasized especially the lessons which our military history should bring home to the nation, illustrating his point with personal experiences in the war of 1898 and with the mistakes and failures of the War of 1812. The conference closed with the appointment of a committee to consider the best method of furthering the study and presentation of military history, and to make at the next meeting of the American Historical Association a report upon this subject. The committee was constituted by the chair as follows: Professor R. M. Johnston, chairman, Professor F. M. Fling, Colonel T. L. Livermore, Major J. W. McAndrew, and Major George H. Shelton. Later the Council of the Association requested this committee to co-operate with the committee on the programme for the next annual meeting, in framing for that occasion a programme for a second conference on military history.

The increasing interest in the history teachers' conference was shown by the numbers that assembled in the Museum of Fine Arts

on Saturday afternoon. After a short business meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association, which met in joint session with the teachers of the Historical Association, Professor Ferguson, the chairman, introduced Professor John O. Sumner, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the chairman of the Committee on the Equipment for the Teaching of History in High Schools and Colleges, who presented the report of the committee. This report summarized the returns received from 150 preparatory schools and ten colleges, most of the 150 schools using the four courses recommended by the Committee of Seven. Some of the general observations that resulted from the survey thus afforded were, that while libraries are most cordial in their co-operation, city museums are not used as they might be, that there is no conspicuous difference between the results obtained by private and by public schools, that the importance of a large number of duplicates in libraries is overlooked, that maps are sadly deficient, that pictures are in very general use, and that a number of schools possess lanterns. Professor Henry Johnson, of Teachers' College, opened the discussion with the suggestion that the report, though valuable, had lessened its usefulness by attempting too much, and that the important thing is not the accumulation of material, which is comparatively easy, but the proper using of the material when collected. Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of the Central High School, Newark, New Jersey, in his remarks further emphasized the idea that the stress should be laid not on the acquisition of the material but on its use. Even in the most poorly equipped school, material by which the past can be made real, the object of all illustrative material, will be found by the skillful teacher. Professor Arthur P. Butler, of Morristown, New Jersey, added the suggestion that the vital and the difficult thing is to set the pupil himself to work with the material, and to teach him facility in reproducing what he has heard and read. In the general discussion which followed Professor Sumner stated that the report did not yet reach the matter of utilization of material, but that the committee hoped to be of use in that respect as well as in the selection of material. Professor Ernest F. Henderson suggested ways of using the current *History Teacher's Magazine* in illustration of the general subject, and Mr. G. H. Howard, of Springfield, Massachusetts, dwelt further on the necessity of teaching the pupil to give expression to his knowledge. At the close of the session those present were invited to Simmons College to inspect the rooms arranged there illustrating with books, maps, pictures, and other material the recommended high-school courses. The space given to industrial history proved most popular, probably because of the greater opportunity afforded for illustrative work by the pupils.

The ninth annual conference of historical societies was held in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society on Saturday afternoon, with President Henry Lefavour of Simmons College, president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, as chairman. Only two papers were presented but each was of unusual merit. Mr. Charles K. Bolton, librarian of the Boston Athenaeum, dealt with the subject, not frequently discussed at meetings of the Association, of "Genealogy and History". He pointed out that "the vicissitudes of families conceal the very sources of political and economic history" and urged that the genealogist should not concern himself merely with the names and vital statistics of those whose relationships he records, but also with their environment, activities, and state of culture, thus making a genuine contribution to history which the historian cannot afford to ignore. In discussion of the subject Dr. H. W. Van Loon indicated the close relation between genealogy and the continuance of reigning families and described the careful preservation of genealogical material in the Netherlands, while Dr. F. A. Woods of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology spoke briefly of genealogy as an aid in the study of heredity, and pointed out the unusual degree of interrelationship among the personages most eminent in American history. Mr. Worthington C. Ford's paper on the Massachusetts Historical Society was exceedingly suggestive. Indicating the conditions in 1790 which brought the society into existence, Mr. Ford sketched the broad lines of the society's development to the present day, showing the part played by such factors as the personality of its membership, the gradual delimitation of the scope of its activities, and its policy in the collection and publication of material. With regard to this latter it was stated that "the wholesome lesson was early learned that the society must support its publications and could not hope to derive any profit from them". In the matter of collection Mr. Ford made a plea for the proper geographical distribution of material, pointing out how historical societies may act as clearing-houses of archival and other original material that has gone astray. The principal matter of business that came before the conference was the report by Mr. Dunbar Rowland for the committee on co-operative activities on the progress of the catalogue of documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley. The committee was authorized to secure additional funds, and \$750 was pledged at the conference by the Illinois Historical Library, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Cambridge Historical Society, and the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The principal paper in the Conference on Medieval History, of

which Professor George B. Adams of Yale University was chairman, was that which is printed upon a later page of the present issue, on Profitable Fields of Investigation in Medieval History, by Professor J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago. In discussing it Professor J. T. Shotwell of Columbia University dwelt upon the large possibilities which lie before American students in respect to constructive work in medieval history, European scholars having performed for them the needful toil of getting the materials ready. He likewise, in a similar spirit, adverted to the fact that early medieval church history, the materials of which had largely been already prepared by clerics, affords much work for laymen to do, in examining such topics, for instance, as the government of the *patrimonium Petri*, papal finance, the extension of Christian morals over the north of Europe, the sacraments considered from the point of view of anthropology, and the archaeology of the Middle Ages, especially the prehistoric archaeology of the North. Professor A. B. White of the University of Minnesota dwelt upon the crucial importance of a much larger amount of work in the critical study of the meanings and uses of medieval terms. Dr. Howard L. Gray of Harvard University spoke of the necessity of many local studies before medieval economic history can be securely advanced, and of the difficulties presented by the agrarian history of France, and in a less degree of England, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Among the others who spoke, Professor W. E. Lunt laid emphasis upon critical studies of the chroniclers and of the documents respecting taxation; Professor Edgar H. MacNeal, of the Old French and Middle High German romances; and Professor A. C. Howland, of the history of medieval education and of the legal institutions of the Middle Ages.

The two remaining conferences, occupied with American history and with modern history respectively, took place at Harvard University on the morning of Monday, December 30. All the sessions of Monday morning and Monday afternoon, including the annual business meeting, were held in Cambridge.

Those interested primarily in the subject of American history held their conference in Emerson Hall, Professor Frederick J. Turner presiding. Professor Dodd's paper on Profitable Fields of Investigation in American History, 1815-1860, which appears on later pages of this journal, pointed to a wide range of unexplored or partially explored territory and provided food for a fruitful discussion which was opened by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan. He took exception to Professor Dodd's statement that slave property was the most valuable investment in a

Southern community, giving explicit reasons for his opinion. He stated his belief that the greatest need in the period under discussion was a study of economic and social conditions, district by district, with especial emphasis on the social conditions. Professor Theodore C. Smith, of Williams College, felt that Professor Dodd had ignored the northeast and the central states, and had narrowed his interest by using an inadequate formula. He believed a study of the political history of a single state would be of the greatest use and suggested Pennsylvania as a fertile subject. The development of the modern party he also cited as needing much more investigation. Professor Allen Johnson of Yale expressed a desire that for a time 1861 be forgotten and the ante-bellum period be treated as preliminary to our own days, particularly along the line of political processes and party machinery. Professor Homer C. Hockett, of Ohio State University, suggested as a principle of selection, a necessity in all historical work, the connection of past events with present-day problems such as the third-party movement, the evolution of the wage problem, and the manufacturing interests. Professor P. Orman Ray, of Pennsylvania State College, followed Professor Smith's suggestion for detailed work on Pennsylvania politics from 1815 to 1828, by citing numerous topics, among others a study of Pennsylvania financial history, a history of the railroads of the state, the connection between the railroads and legislation, the proceedings of the various state constitutional conventions, the reform movements in connection with debtor laws and liquor legislation, and finally suggested a series of monographs on the presidential campaigns. Professor Jonas Viles, of the University of Missouri, emphasized the need for scholarly local history investigated from the national point of view. Miss Katharine Coman, of Wellesley College, brought to the consideration of the conference research beyond the Mississippi where no slavery question was known. The material for this work, diaries of the early explorers and settlers, letters, business papers, newspapers, early church records, recollections of living pioneers, exists in great quantities, but much of it of value has already been destroyed and more will disappear with each decade that passes.

The conference on modern history, held at the same hour, in the lecture hall of the Fogg Museum of Art, was presided over by Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College. The principal paper laid before the conference was one by Professor Edwin F. Gay of Harvard, on the History of Commerce as a Field for Investigation, and commercial history remained the sole topic of the conference. Professor Gay set out with great force, clearness, and grasp of general

aspects a wide variety of topics in the history of modern commerce upon which greater light was needed, and expressed with particular vigor the need both of greater breadth and of far greater exactness in the presentation and use of materials, especially of statistical materials, for commercial history. Too much of the history of commerce which has been written is merely romantic fiction.

Professor Clive Day of Yale expressed cordial agreement with Professor Gay in his demand for a study of the history of commerce in its broader aspects, leading to a better understanding of the successive economic stages. He joined him in pleading for more exact methods in studying the history of commerce, and called attention to such recent works as those by Madame Bang, Becht, and Wätjen, giving a statistical basis for study. He emphasized the importance of the constitutional aspects of commercial history, and urged that students should not be blinded by an exaggerated belief in the importance of commercial policy.

Professor A. L. P. Dennis of Wisconsin spoke of the history of the trade of the English in India, especially in the seventeenth century, as distinguished from the commerce between England and India, of which more is known. Added materials in print have now made it possible to make intensive studies of such subjects as Indian banking, private trading of servants of the East India Company, prices, and the like. Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania, remarking that the period from 1803 to 1813 had mainly been dealt with from the military and political points of view, advocated a much fuller study of the Napoleonic period as consisting in a great commercial struggle. The sources for the history of English commercial policy during this period are voluminous, those for the French even richer; and there is need of many regional studies on the history and effect of the Continental System upon particular areas. American consular reports, enclosures in the diplomatic correspondence, and the manuscripts of private firms, like the five hundred volumes of the papers of Stephen Girard, afford many materials for the discussion of profitable topics like the Baltic trade of that time, the commercial position of the subsidiary states under Napoleon, the amelioration of the system by licenses, English and French, smuggling, and places like Halifax and Amelia Island, which constituted strategic points comparable to Heligoland.

Mr. Abbott P. Usher of Cornell University dwelt upon the international aspects of commercial history and the need of observing them in spite of the natural temptation to observe national boundaries unduly because the deposits of material are national. He instanced Schmoller's history of the Prussian grain trade in the

Acta Borussica, in which the ignoring of the relations of Polish and Baltic trade to Prussian leave the book a work of erudition rather than a vital history of important movements; and the history of the bill of exchange, Goldschmidt's work being confined to Italian sources instead of following in the archives of all important countries alike a subject which is essentially cosmopolitan.

Mr. Clarence H. Haring of Bryn Mawr spoke of the Archives of the Indies in Seville, and of the opportunities which they afford for a study of the origin, organization, and history of Spanish colonial commerce, and especially of the Spanish silver fleets, for which the accounts of the treasurers of the Casa de Contratacion and of the various colonial treasurers afford ample materials, while the registers preserved in Seville of ships sailing to and from America are invaluable for the general study of colonial trade and navigation. Dr. Stewart L. Mims of Yale, from the point of view of a student of the French colonial empire, adverted to the need of many special studies of individual colonies in the Antilles, individual ports of France, and individual divisions of French colonial commerce.

Dr. N. S. B. Gras of Clark College closed the discussion by remarks on a group of new sources for the history of English customs and commerce, namely, the great mass of Port Books and Coast Bonds recently saved from destruction and brought to attention at the Public Record Office, and in which the history of English commerce in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries can be followed in minute detail of ships, exports, and destinations.

A special session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by its president, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of Wisconsin, was held on Monday morning, the general subject of the four papers read being New England and the West. Professor Archer B. Hulbert brought new light to bear, from his investigation of the Craigie Papers in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, on the history of the Scioto Company and its short-lived and unhappy settlement of Gallipolis. The Scioto Company, he stated, had no real organization, but was composed of Colonel Duer, Andrew Craigie, and Royal Flint, as principal associates, who with others styled themselves "trustees", and, under the wing of the Ohio Company, attempted to carry on a speculation pure and simple. Their methods were the purchase of United States claims, the attempt, through foreign financiers such as Brissot de Warville, to secure transfers of the foreign debt or to make loans abroad on Scioto stock, and the exchange of Scioto shares for those of other corporations. The speculators, Mr. Hulbert stated, had no intention of exploiting and settling the region on which they held options, gave

no such right to the French company, and should not be held directly responsible for the Gallipolis episode. In the second paper, Dr. Solon J. Buck controverted the generally accepted view that the people of early Illinois came almost entirely from the South and held all "Yankees" in aversion. On the basis of statistical study of the nativity of office-holders in Illinois before 1833, he showed that the New England element was about twelve per cent. (one-third of the northern element). The participation of New Englanders in Illinois politics was greatest from 1818 to 1824, and the part they played in the slavery struggle was distinctly honorable. The New England emigration was especially strong just after the War of 1812. Professor Karl F. Geiser, dealing with the early New England influence in the Western Reserve, pointed out that the social and political institutions of that region had developed out of New England Puritanism modified by forces springing out of the new soil to which it was transferred. The settlers from New England formed the nuclei of the various communities, the leadership of which they retained, shaping the development of religion and educational institutions, long after they were outnumbered by other elements.

Mrs. Lois K. Mathews's paper on the Mayflower Compact and its Descendants developed the idea that compact-making was a well-known process to the Americans of 1775, and survived after 1865, while side by side with the idea of compact, indeed as a corollary to it, developed that of secession. The plantation covenants of early New England, such as those of Providence, Exeter, and Dover, were discussed. The New England Confederation of 1643 represents the same principle on a larger scale, and the Articles of Confederation were in a sense a still more developed outgrowth. It was not, therefore, theoretical knowledge alone which the delegates to the Constitutional Convention possessed, but much practical experience of compacts. The application of the compact theory by no means ceased with the adoption of the Constitution, for numerous colonies or settlements in western territory bound themselves by compact. The conclusions reached were, that government by compact was evolved from practical necessity, not from theoretical speculation; that its beginnings are to be found in the separatist church covenant; that the germ of the larger compacts is found in the town compacts, and finally, that the institution often accompanied further settlement, changing its character to suit changing conditions; all of which suggest the need of studying the church covenant and the town compact, (1) among settlers from New England, (2) among settlers from the southern seaboard, and (3) among the Scotch-Irish.

On the afternoon of the same day, the last whole day of the ses-

sions, the Historical Association and the Political Science Association met in joint session at the New Lecture Hall of Harvard University. The first two papers of the session pertained to the field of political science, the last to history. President Harry A. Garfield, of Williams College, in a paper entitled Good Government and the Suffrage, skillfully led up to the conclusion that for the purposes of good government a universal franchise was neither a danger nor an essential, however desirable it might be for other reasons. Professor Adam Shortt of the Canadian Civil Service Commission explained with some detail the historical development which resulted in the present relationship between the Canadian executive and legislative bodies. The first of the papers in the field of history was presented by Professor Frank M. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, and dealt with the Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798. While the Alien Law was never actually enforced, Burk, the editor of the *Time Piece*, of New York, was obliged to go into hiding until the close of the administration, and the departure of General Victor Collot was all that prevented action being taken against him. Several prosecutions that occurred before the actual passage of the Sedition Law (July 14, 1798) are often alluded to as Sedition Law cases. The number of persons arrested under the act seems to have been about twenty-five and at least sixteen were indicted, of whom ten came to trial and were pronounced guilty. These cases were discussed in four classes: proceedings aimed at prominent Republican newspapers; proceedings aimed at minor Republican papers; proceedings against important individuals; and cases against unimportant persons. Charges of unfairness in all these cases were numerous. It seems true that the juries could scarcely be called impartial, and the defendant was not in all cases given a fair chance to present his side of the case.

Professor E. D. Adams followed with an interesting paper on the Point of View of the British Traveller in America, 1810-1860, the object of which was to study "the mental attitude" of the writers of the various accounts. Guided by this principle one may group the British writers into five classes. Those writing in the decade 1810-1820 were middle-class Englishmen, interested in agriculture, discontented with the social order at home, and attracted by the industrial opportunity offered by this country. For the second period the books were of two distinct types: books written by the laborers themselves dilating on their wages, their food, their comfortable housing; and books written by those whose attitude toward American political institutions was distinctly critical. The third decade, 1830-1840, was characterized solely by writers whose judgments, sometimes

friendly and sometimes unfriendly, were predetermined by their political opinions. From 1840 to 1850 the majority of travellers were primarily observers, apparently without strong bias. From 1850 to 1860, as in the decade from 1830 to 1840, the writers were concerned chiefly with political institutions in America, the feeling of friendliness predominating. •

The last evening of the sessions in Boston was given to the reading, before a general audience, of papers in European history. The first was a brilliant discourse "Anent the Middle Ages", by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, which we shall have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in a future number. After some discussion of the beginnings of modern tolerance, and their relation to the demarcation of the Middle Ages, Mr. Burr showed how medieval history may most properly be thought of as the period when Christian theocracy was the usual ideal; how, beginning the Middle Ages with Constantine, we may rightly allow them to overlap ancient history at one end; and how, overlapping modern history at the other, we cannot think of them as ending till, after Luther and Calvin, the ecclesiastical City of God is supplanted by the lay state.

In the second paper, *Antecedents of the Quattrocento*, Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor of New York took for his topic the fundamental identity of relationship borne by the Middle Ages as well as the humanists of the Quattrocento to the antique past from which they both drew the substance of their thought. In each succeeding medieval century, as in the Quattrocento, scholars were always reaching back, beyond that which they had received from their immediate predecessors, in the fruitful endeavor to appropriate and profit by a larger share of the great antique past. In this respect the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries resemble the twelfth and thirteenth.

In a systematic and thorough descriptive paper on the Court of Star Chamber, Professor Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania set forth in entertaining fashion the composition and functions of the court, its relations to monarch and council and Parliament, its practices and procedure, and the true facts as to its operations and the part it played in the history of the time—all supported and enlivened by concrete examples drawn from exhaustive researches. The paper will at a later time be printed in this journal.

Mr. William R. Thayer's paper entitled "*Crispi: a Legend in the Making*" consisted in a comparison, made step by step through the successive stages of Crispi's career, between the actual historic facts and the representation of those facts which is now coming before the public as the result of Crispi's dealings with his own papers and of the publications, out of that collection and from other sources,

which have been made by his nephew and other apologists. An anonymous article in the *Nation* of January 16 will give to students, at considerable extent, an excellent notion of what was said upon this interesting topic by Mr. Thayer. He described the early days of conspiracy, the relations of discipleship with Mazzini, the Orsini episode, and the remarkable part which Crispi played in the Sicilian Expedition as lieutenant of Garibaldi, as private secretary, and as intriguer for Sicilian and personal interests rather than for those of united Italy; the adhesion of Crispi to the monarchy, his long career as parliamentary privateer, his periods of ministerial power, his policy in external and internal affairs. At every step he showed how nepotic piety and that of lesser adherents has been of late sophisticating the actual facts and creating the legend of a high-minded, unselfish, and farseeing statesman.

In view of the lateness of the hour which had now been reached, Professor John M. Vincent of the Johns Hopkins University abstained from reading his paper on Sumptuary Laws in the Eighteenth Century. The paper was intended to show the duration of this intimate paternal legislation in certain of the old independent cities of Switzerland where the ordinances were persistently renewed and re-enacted throughout the century. The French Revolution seems to close the period of serious "blue-law" making. Mr. Vincent has been investigating the extent to which these ordinances were enforced. The execution was usually in the hands of a social court or commission for the reformation of morals. In Basel the docket of this court is complete from 1674 to 1797. In Zürich the record for the eighteenth century is fairly complete, and in other cities information is fragmentary, but interesting irregularities are seen in the enforcement. Spasmodic revivals of stringency are followed by neglect, with a general tendency to mildness as the century advances, until the attempt to enforce strictly sumptuary regulation is abandoned.

The final session of the Association, on the last morning of the year, was devoted to a series of papers in American history, of which the first, entitled the New Columbus, had been prepared by Mr. Henry P. Biggar, representative in Europe of the Archives of the Dominion of Canada.

Our scanty information as to the life of Columbus has been largely based on the biography published by his son Fernando. This, Mr. Henry Vignaud has in recent volumes tried to show, is in large measure composed of forged documents, and he has also attempted to demonstrate that much of what Columbus told of himself was untrue, and most important of all, that he was seeking not a new

route to the East, but new islands in the ocean when he sailed to the west in 1492. Mr. Vignaud, in order to support this theory, regards the entire correspondence with Toscanelli as a forgery on the part of Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher. There are however certain facts that militate against this theory. We know that in 1494 the Duke of Ferrara wrote to Florence asking for Toscanelli's notes on the island recently discovered by the Spaniards. We know that what Columbus proposed to King John of Portugal was a search for the island Cipangu and that that was what he on his return from the first voyage declared that he had found. The letter given to Columbus by Isabella, April 30, 1492, was apparently intended for the Grand Khan of Cathay. Finally, the introduction to the journal of the first voyage, written by Columbus, seems to prove that he expected to reach the East.

Dr. Clarence W. Bowen's paper on the Charter of Connecticut sketched briefly the early history of the various settlements in Connecticut, the procuring of the charter by John Winthrop, agent for the colony in England, the enmity of Edward Randolph to the colony, and the attack on the charter by Andros. He described the efforts of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher and Governor Joseph Dudley to gain control of the military forces of Connecticut and the numerous appeals made to the king throughout the eighteenth century, to support the charter. To this he added illustrations showing its importance to Connecticut in the present day.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne in his paper on Religious and Sectarian Forces as Causes of the American Revolution declared that in a sense the American Revolution was simply the Puritan and Anglican struggle of the early seventeenth century deferred 150 years, and removed to another land. There followed a discussion of all of those controversies in the earlier colonial history which kept the colonists suspicious of encroachments by the Anglican Church. Then the annoying activities of the Bishop of London were considered, and the disallowance by the British government of colonial laws on religious subjects. The effect of giving all important British offices in America to Episcopalians was discussed, and the struggle over the proposed American episcopate. From this the speaker passed to reflections upon the effect of the preaching by Calvinistic ministers, throughout the colonial period, of the doctrines of Locke, Milton, Sidney, and Hoadly. Especial attention was given to the opposition to the Episcopal doctrines of submission and non-resistance. The preaching of the non-Anglican ministers between the Stamp Act and the outbreak of war was discussed, and evidence was submitted to show the extent and character of their

influence, then and after Concord and Lexington. The discussion here turned to the activity of Revolutionary leaders in the use of religious forces, with especial emphasis upon the appeal of Samuel Adams to Puritan fanaticism when the Catholic religion was recognized in Quebec. There followed an account of the attack on the "Divine Rights" doctrine and its effect in removing the last barrier to independence. In closing, the speaker presented the results of a study of a large number of Revolutionary biographies, which show the adhesion of about eighty per cent. of the non-Episcopalians to the Whig party, and of about seventy-five per cent. of the Episcopalians to the Loyalist party. The speaker expressed the belief that conflicting political ideas, and not tea or taxes, caused the American secession from the British Empire, and that the Puritan clergy had a large part in planting the prevalent political ideals which were antagonistic to those dominant in England.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams's stirring paper on the fight of the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*—"August 19, 1812, at 6.30 P.M.; the Birth of a World Power"—follows in full upon a later page.

The veteran historian Dr. James Schouler was not able to be present on Saturday morning. The paper which he had prepared developed the thesis that to-day we have material which enables us to form a far more just opinion of Andrew Johnson than did his contemporaries. The manuscript collection of Johnson papers placed in the Library of Congress and the *Diary of Gideon Welles*, recently published, have furnished vindication for that president's character and official acts. His early reconstruction measures showed courage and ability, his chief mistakes being his failure to unite with the moderate Republicans on a definite policy, his neglect to take the younger Republican leaders into his confidence, and his faults of taste in the canvass of 1866, in which his speeches offended the northern audiences that heard them.

The business meeting of the Association was held at Cambridge on Monday afternoon with Vice-President Dunning in the chair. The report of the secretary showed a total membership of 2846. The treasurer reported net disbursements of \$11,619, with net receipts of \$10,823. The total assets of the Association were \$27,255. The report of the Executive Council included, for the first time, the presentation of a formal budget for the expenditures for 1913; and recommended that a committee of five be appointed at the present meeting to prepare nominations for office to be voted on at the next annual meeting. The recommendation was adopted. The new policy with regard to nominations will allow a longer consideration of the

matter of elections and will afford opportunity for members of the Association to make suggestions to the committee. Upon recommendation by the council it was voted to accept the invitation of Columbia, South Carolina, to hold in that city a part of the annual meeting for 1913, the major portion of which is to be held in Charleston. It was also voted to accept the invitation from the Universities of Chicago and Illinois and Northwestern University to hold the annual meeting of 1914 in Chicago. The Association furthermore voted to hold a special meeting in San Francisco in July, 1915, in response to invitations received from the Pacific Coast Branch and the Panama Exposition committee.

The report of the Pacific Coast Branch was presented by Professor E. D. Adams, who gave a brief account of its tenth annual meeting, held in Berkeley. The next meeting will be held at Los Angeles. The chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Mr. Ford, reported that through the generosity of the Adams family the commission would offer as its next report the private letters of William Vans Murray to John Adams, 1797-1801. This material being of national interest, in private possession, and not likely otherwise to be printed, was considered especially appropriate for inclusion in a report of the commission. For the Public Archives Commission, Professor Ames stated that reports were in progress on the archives of California and Louisiana, and that arrangements were being made for securing reports on Montana and Wyoming. The activity of the commission during the past year has been principally along two lines: the preparation of a manual of archive practice or economy and the securing of information about federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia. An outline of the archive manual had been discussed at the conference of archivists just held and it was hoped that by next year some preliminary publication could be prepared. The work of securing information respecting federal archives outside of the District of Columbia has been taken up by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, who has secured an executive order from the President calling for the information desired. Professor Ames also stated that the commission would present as part of its report a list, prepared under the supervision of Professor C. M. Andrews, of the reports and representations relative to America made by the British Board of Trade to the king in council, Parliament, the secretary of state, and other authorities. Dr. J. F. Jameson made an informal report for the council committee on a national archive building; while uncertain whether any action would be taken during the present session, the committee was continuing to call public attention to the need of such a building and making sys-

tematic efforts to have various historical societies make representations to Congress upon the subject.

The Committee on Publications reported through its chairman, Professor Farrand, that the Adams prize essay for 1911, Miss Brown's *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, had been printed and would be distributed shortly. The committee has decided to reprint the first essay to receive the Adams prize, that of David S. Muzzey on *The Spiritual Franciscans*. Mr. Farrand stated that the total sales of the four essays already issued amounted to 1674 copies, the number of the standing subscribers to the whole series being only 159. He especially urged that this number should be made as large as possible. The committee announced that it will be impossible to publish the biennial handbook during the coming year. The report of the Board of Editors of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW was presented by its chairman, Professor George B. Adams, who stated that owing to a decrease of expenses the board had been able to return \$300 to the Association. The editors had agreed with the advisory committee of the *History Teacher's Magazine* upon a natural and logical definition of the fields of the respective publications. Professor Henry Johnson presented a report for the advisory board of the *History Teacher's Magazine* which showed that the outlook for that publication is very encouraging, the number of subscribers having nearly trebled during the past year.

For the Committee on Bibliography, Dr. E. C. Richardson stated that three pieces of work were being carried on or being considered: a list of sets of works on European history to be found in American libraries, a bibliography of American travels, and a union list of historical periodicals. The list of works on European history is now in press; a revised and improved edition of it is to be published under the editorship of Dr. Walter Lichtenstein. The bibliography of American travels is waiting for the procuring of a suitable editor, and the matter of a union list of periodicals is to be taken up with the publishing board of the American Library Association. Professor Cheyney reported that a considerable part of the material for the first volume of the bibliography of modern English history had been gathered. The English committee, he stated, had made a contract with John Murray for the publication of the work and the American committee planned to arrange with an American publisher for issuing the work in America. It has been decided to include the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the plan, thus making the bibliography cover the whole modern period. Dr. Jameson reported respecting the series of *Original Narratives of Early*

American History the facts and announcements set forth from time to time in the "Notes and News" of this journal. Professor D. C. Munro reported that the work of the committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools had been mainly directed to arousing interest in the subject throughout the country. The committee expects to publish a formal report in the near future. The chairman of the Justin Winsor Prize Committee, Professor Van Tyne, stated that the Winsor prize had been awarded to Dr. A. C. Cole for his essay on the Whig Party in the South. The rules governing contributions for the prize essays were amended in such a way as to place the burden of preparing the manuscript of the successful essay for the printer upon the author rather than upon the Association.

Professor William A. Dunning, the first vice-president, was elected president of the Association for the ensuing year, Professors Andrew C. McLaughlin and H. Morse Stephens vice-presidents; Mr. Waldo G. Leland was re-elected secretary; Professor Charles H. Haskins secretary to the Council; Dr. Clarence W. Bowen treasurer; and Mr. A. Howard Clark curator. In the place of President Edwin E. Sparks and Professor Franklin L. Riley, who had served three terms on the Executive Council, Professors Archibald C. Coolidge and John M. Vincent were chosen.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

<i>President,</i>	Professor William A. Dunning, New York.
<i>First Vice-President,</i>	Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, Chicago.
<i>Second Vice-President,</i>	Professor H. Morse Stephens, Berkeley.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, Washington.
<i>Treasurer,</i>	Clarence W. Bowen, 130 Fulton Street, New York.
<i>Secretary to the Council,</i>	Professor Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.
<i>Curator,</i>	A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

Hon. Andrew D. White, ¹	Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, ¹
President James B. Angell, ¹	Professor Frederick J. Turner, ¹
Henry Adams, ¹	Professor William M. Sloane, ¹
James Schouler, ¹	Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, ¹
James Ford Rhodes, ¹	Professor Fred M. Fling,

¹ Ex-presidents.

Charles Francis Adams, ¹	Professor James A. Woodburn,
Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, ¹	Professor Herman V. Ames,
Professor John B. McMaster, ¹	Professor Dana C. Munro,
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, ¹	Professor Archibald C. Coolidge,
J. Franklin Jameson, ¹	Professor John M. Vincent.
Professor George B. Adams, ¹	

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting:

Professor St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Samuel C. Mitchell, Ulrich B. Phillips, James T. Shotwell, Henry A. Sill.

Committees on Local Arrangements: For Charleston, Joseph W. Barnwell, chairman; Oliver J. Bond, Theodore D. Jervoy, Harrison Randolph; for Columbia, Benjamin F. Taylor, chairman; Samuel C. Mitchell, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Yates Snowden.

Committee on Nominations: Professor William MacDonald, Brown University, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, John S. Bassett, Edward B. Krehbiel, Franklin L. Riley.

Editors of the American Historical Review: George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Worthington C. Ford, Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, chairman; Carl Becker, Carl R. Fish, J. G. deR. Hamilton, William MacDonald.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Professor George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, Laurence M. Larson, Albert B. White.

Public Archives Commission: Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Jonas Viles, Henry E. Woods.

Committee on Bibliography: Professor Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Walter Lichtenstein, Frederick J. Teggart, George Parker Winship.

Committee on Publications: Professor Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George L. Burr, Worthing-

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ton C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

General Committee: Professor Frederick L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, Pierce Butler, Isaac J. Cox, Frederic Duncalf, Miss Julia A. Flisch, Clarence S. Paine, Morgan P. Robinson, W. Roy Smith, David D. Wallace; and Waldo G. Leland and Haven W. Edwards, *ex officio*.

Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History: Professor Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the Preparation of Teachers of History in Schools: Professor Dana C. Munro, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kendric C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Haven W. Edwards, Robert A. Maurer.

Conference of Historical Societies: Thomas M. Owen, Montgomery, chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

Advisory Board of History Teacher's Magazine: Professor Henry Johnson, Columbia University, chairman; George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these two reappointed to serve three years); Fred M. Fling, Miss Blanche Hazard, James Sullivan.

HISTORY AS LITERATURE¹

THERE has been much discussion as to whether history should not henceforth be treated as a branch of science rather than of literature. As with most such discussions, much of the matter in dispute has referred merely to terminology. Moreover, as regards part of the discussion, the minds of the contestants have not met, the propositions advanced by the two sides being neither mutually incompatible nor mutually relevant. There is, however, a real basis for conflict in so far as science claims exclusive possession of the field.

There was a time—we see it in the marvellous dawn of Hellenic life—when history was distinguished neither from poetry, from mythology, nor from the first dim beginnings of science. There was a more recent time, at the opening of Rome's brief period of literary splendor, when poetry was accepted by a great scientific philosopher as the appropriate vehicle for teaching the lessons of science and philosophy. There was a more recent time still—the time of Holland's leadership in arms and arts—when one of the two or three greatest world painters put his genius at the service of anatomists.

In each case the steady growth of specialization has rendered such combination now impossible. Virgil left history to Livy; and when Tacitus had become possible Lucan was a rather absurd anachronism. The elder Darwin, when he endeavored to combine the functions of scientist and poet, may have thought of Lucretius as a model; but the great Darwin was incapable of such a mistake. The surgeons of to-day would prefer the services of a good photographer to those of Rembrandt—even were those of Rembrandt available. No one would now dream of combining the history of the Trojan War with a poem on the wrath of Achilles. Beowulf's feats against the witch who dwelt under the water would not now be mentioned in the same matter-of-fact way that a Frisian or Frankish raid is mentioned. We are long past the stage when we would accept as parts of the same epic Siegfried's triumphs over dwarf and dragon, and even a distorted memory of the historic Hunnish king in whose feast-hall the Burgundian heroes held their last revel and made their death fight. We read of the loves of the

¹ Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at Boston, December 27, 1912.

Hound of Muirthemne and Emer the Fair without attributing to the chariot-riding heroes who "fought over the ears of their horses" and to their fierce lady-loves more than a symbolic reality. The Roland of the Norman *trouvères*, the Roland who blew the ivory horn at Roncevalles, is to our minds wholly distinct from the actual Warden of the Marches who fell in a rear-guard skirmish with the Pyrennean Basques.

As regards philosophy, as distinguished from material science and from history, the specialization has been incomplete. Poetry is still used as a vehicle for the teaching of philosophy. Goethe was as profound a thinker as Kant. He has influenced the thought of mankind far more deeply than Kant because he was also a great poet. Robert Browning was a real philosopher and his writings have had a hundredfold the circulation and the effect of those of any similar philosopher who wrote in prose, just because, and only because, what he wrote was not merely philosophy but literature. The form in which he wrote challenged attention and provoked admiration. That part of his work which some of us—which I myself for instance—most care for is merely poetry. But in that part of his work which has exercised most attraction and has given him the widest reputation, the poetry, the form of expression, bears to the thought expressed much the same relation that the expression of Lucretius bears to the thought of Lucretius. As regards this, the great mass of his product, he is primarily a philosopher, whose writings surpass in value those of other similar philosophers precisely because they are not only philosophy but literature. In other words, Browning the philosopher is read by countless thousands to whom otherwise philosophy would be a sealed book, for exactly the same reason that Macaulay the historian is read by countless thousands to whom otherwise history would be a sealed book; because both Browning's works and Macaulay's works are material additions to the great sum of English literature. Philosophy is a science just as history is a science. There is need in one case as in the other for vivid and powerful presentation of scientific matter in literary form.

This does not mean that there is the like need in the two cases. History can never be truthfully presented if the presentation is purely emotional. It can never be truthfully or usefully presented unless profound research, patient, laborious, painstaking, has preceded the presentation. No amount of self-communion and of pondering on the soul of mankind, no gorgeousness of literary imagery, can take the place of cool, serious, widely extended study. The vision of the great historian must be both wide and lofty. But

it must be sane, clear, and based on full knowledge of the facts and of their interrelations. Otherwise we get merely a splendid bit of serious romance writing, like Carlyle's *French Revolution*. Many hardworking students, alive to the deficiencies of this kind of romance writing, have grown to distrust, not only all historical writing that is romantic, but all historical writing that is vivid. They feel that complete truthfulness must never be sacrificed to color. In this they are right. They also feel that complete truthfulness is incompatible with color. In this they are wrong. The immense importance of full knowledge of a mass of dry facts and gray details has so impressed them as to make them feel that the dryness and the grayness are in themselves meritorious.

These students have rendered invaluable service to history. They are right in many of their contentions. They see how literature and science have specialized. They realize that scientific methods are as necessary to the proper study of history as to the proper study of astronomy or zoology. They know that in many, perhaps in most, of its forms, literary ability is divorced from the restrained devotion to the actual fact which is as essential to the historian as to the scientist. They know that nowadays science ostentatiously disclaims any connection with literature. They feel that if this is essential for science, it is no less essential for history.

There is much truth in all these contentions. Nevertheless, taking them all together, they do not indicate what these hard-working students believed that they indicate. Because history, science, and literature have all become specialized, the theory now is that science is definitely severed from literature and that history must follow suit. Not only do I refuse to accept this as true for history but I do not even accept it as true for science.

Literature may be defined as that which has permanent interest because both of its substance and its form, aside from the mere technical value that inheres in a special treatise for specialists. For a great work of literature there is the same demand now that there always has been; and in any great work of literature the first element is great imaginative power. The imaginative power demanded for a great historian is different from that demanded for a great poet; but it is no less marked. Such imaginative power is in no sense incompatible with minute accuracy. On the contrary, very accurate, very real and vivid, presentation of the past, can come only from one in whom the imaginative gift is strong. The industrious collector of dead facts bears to such a man precisely the relation that a photographer bears to Rembrandt. There are innumerable books, that is, innumerable volumes of printed matter between covers, which

are excellent for their own purposes, but in which imagination would be as wholly out of place as in the blue prints of a sewer system or in the photographs taken to illustrate a work on comparative osteology. But the vitally necessary sewer system does not take the place of the cathedral of Rheims or of the Parthenon; no quantity of photographs will ever be equivalent to one Rembrandt; and the greatest mass of data, although indispensable to the work of a great historian, is in no shape or way a substitute for that work.

History, taught for a directly and immediately useful purpose to pupils and the teachers of pupils, is one of the necessary features of a sound education in democratic citizenship. A book containing such sound teaching, even if without any literary quality, may be as useful to the student and as creditable to the writer, as a similar book on medicine. I am not slighting such a book when I say that once it has achieved its worthy purpose, it can be permitted to lapse from human memory as a good book on medicine, which has outlived its usefulness, lapses from memory. But the historical work which does possess literary quality may be a permanent contribution to the sum of man's wisdom, enjoyment, and inspiration. The writer of such a book must add wisdom to knowledge, and the gift of expression to the gift of imagination.

It is a shallow criticism to assert that imagination tends to inaccuracy. Only a distorted imagination tends to inaccuracy. Vast and fundamental truths can be discerned and interpreted only by one whose imagination is as lofty as the soul of a Hebrew prophet. When we say that the great historian must be a man of imagination, we use the word as we use it when we say that the great statesman must be a man of imagination. Moreover, together with imagination must go the power of expression. The great speeches of statesmen, and the great writings of historians can live only if they possess the deathless quality that inheres in all great literature. The greatest literary historian must of necessity be a master of the science of history, a man who has at his finger-tips all the accumulated facts from the treasure-houses of the dead past. But he must also possess the power to marshal what is dead so that before our eyes it lives again.

Many learned people seem to feel that the quality of readability in a book is one which warrants suspicion. Indeed, not a few learned people seem to feel that the fact that a book is interesting is proof that it is shallow. This is particularly apt to be the attitude of scientific men. Very few great scientists have written interestingly, and these few have usually felt apologetic about it. Yet sooner or later the time will come when the mighty sweep of modern

scientific discovery will be placed, by scientific men with the gift of expression, at the service of intelligent and cultivated laymen. Such service will be inestimable. Another writer of *Canterbury Tales*, another singer of *Paradise Lost*, could not add more to the sum of literary achievement than the man who may picture to us the phases of the age-long history of life on this globe, or make vivid before our eyes the tremendous march of the worlds through space.

Indeed, I believe that already science has owed more than it suspects to the unconscious literary power of some of its representatives. Scientific writers of note had grasped the fact of evolution long before Darwin and Huxley; and the theories advanced by these men to explain evolution were not much more unsatisfactory, as full explanations, than the theory of natural selection itself. Yet, where their predecessors had created hardly a ripple, Darwin and Huxley succeeded in effecting a complete revolution in the thought of the age, a revolution as great as that caused by the discovery of the truth about the solar system. I believe that the chief explanation of the difference was the very simple one that what Darwin and Huxley wrote was interesting to read. Every cultivated man soon had their volumes in his library, and they still keep their places on our bookshelves. But Lamarck and Cope are only to be found in the libraries of a few special students. If they had possessed a gift of expression akin to Darwin's, the doctrine of evolution would not in the popular mind have been confounded with the doctrine of natural selection and a juster estimate than at present would obtain as to the relative merits of the explanations of evolution championed by the different scientific schools.

Do not misunderstand me. In the field of historical research an immense amount can be done by men who have no literary power whatever. Moreover, the most painstaking and laborious research, covering long periods of years, is necessary in order to accumulate the material for any history worth writing at all. There are important by-paths of history, moreover, which hardly admit of treatment that would make them of interest to any but specialists. All this I fully admit. In particular I pay high honor to the patient and truthful investigator. He does an indispensable work. My claim is merely that such work should not exclude the work of the great master who can use the materials gathered, who has the gift of vision, the quality of the seer, the power himself to see what has happened and to make what he has seen clear to the vision of others. My only protest is against those who believe that the extension of the activities of the most competent mason and most energetic contractor will supply the lack of great architects. If, as in

the Middle Ages, the journeymen builders are themselves artists, why this is the best possible solution of the problem. But if they are not artists, then their work, however much it represents of praiseworthy industry, and of positive usefulness, does not take the place of the work of a great artist.

Take a concrete example. It is only of recent years that the importance of inscriptions has been realized. To the present-day scholar they are invaluable. Even to the layman, some of them turn the past into the present with startling clearness. The least imaginative is moved by the simple inscription on the Etruscan sarcophagus: "I, the great lady"; a lady so haughty that no other human being was allowed to rest near her; and yet now nothing remains but this proof of the pride of the nameless one. Or the inscription in which Queen Hatshepsut recounts her feats and her magnificence, and ends by abjuring the onlooker, when overcome by the recital, not to say "how wonderful" but "how like her!"—could any picture of a living queen be more intimately vivid? With such inscriptions before us the wonder is that it took us so long to realize their worth. Not unnaturally this realization, when it did come, was followed by the belief that inscriptions would enable us to dispense with the great historians of antiquity. This error is worse than the former. Where the inscriptions give us light on what would otherwise be darkness, we must be profoundly grateful; but we must not confound the lesser light with the greater. We could better afford to lose every Greek inscription that has ever been found than the chapter in which Thucydides tells of the Athenian failure before Syracuse. Indeed, few inscriptions teach us as much history as certain forms of literature that do not consciously aim at teaching history at all. The inscriptions of Hellenistic Greece in the third century before our era do not, all told, give us so lifelike a view of the ordinary life of the ordinary men and women who dwelt in the great Hellenistic cities of the time, as does the fifteenth idyll of Theocritus.

This does not mean that good history can be unscientific. So far from ignoring science, the great historian of the future can do nothing unless he is steeped in science. He can never equal what has been done by the great historians of the past unless he writes not merely with full knowledge, but with an intensely vivid consciousness, of all that of which they were necessarily ignorant. He must accept what we now know to be man's place in nature. He must realize that man has been on this earth for a period of such incalculable length that, from the standpoint of the student of his development through time, what our ancestors used to call "an-

tiquity" is almost indistinguishable from the present day. If our conception of history takes in the beast-like man whose sole tool and weapon was the stone fist-hatchet, and his advanced successors, the man who etched on bone pictures of the mammoth, the reindeer, and the wild horse, in what is now France, and the man who painted pictures of bison in the burial caves of what is now Spain; if we also conceive in their true position our "contemporaneous ancestors", the savages who are now no more advanced than the cave-dwellers of a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand years back, then we shall accept Thothmes and Caesar, Alfred and Washington, Timoleon and Lincoln, Homer and Shakespeare, Pythagoras and Emerson, as all nearly contemporaneous in time and in culture.

The great historian of the future will have easy access to innumerable facts patiently gathered by tens of thousands of investigators, whereas the great historian of the past had very few facts, and often had to gather most of these himself. The great historian of the future cannot be excused if he fails to draw on the vast storehouses of knowledge that have been accumulated, if he fails to profit by the wisdom and work of other men, which are now the common property of all intelligent men. He must use the instruments which the historians of the past did not have ready to hand. Yet even with these instruments he cannot do as good work as the best of the elder historians unless he has vision and imagination, the power to grasp what is essential and to reject the infinitely more numerous non-essentials, the power to embody ghosts, to put flesh and blood on dry bones, to make dead men living before our eyes. In short he must have the power to take the science of history and turn it into literature.

Those who wish history to be treated as a purely utilitarian science often decry the recital of the mighty deeds of the past, the deeds which always have aroused, and for a long period to come are likely to arouse, most interest. These men say that we should study not the unusual but the usual. They say that we profit most by laborious research into the drab monotony of the ordinary, rather than by fixing our eyes on the purple patches that break it. Beyond all question the great historian of the future must keep ever in mind the relative importance of the usual and the unusual. If he is a really great historian, if he possesses the highest imaginative and literary quality, he will be able to interest us in the gray tints of the general landscape no less than in the flame hues of the jutting peaks. It is even more essential to have such quality in writing of the commonplace than in writing of the exceptional. Otherwise no profit will come from study of the ordinary; for writings are useless

unless they are read, and they cannot be read unless they are readable. Furthermore, while doing full justice to the importance of the usual, of the commonplace, the great historian will not lose sight of the importance of the heroic.

It is hard to tell just what it is that is most important to know. The wisdom of one generation may seem the folly of the next. This is just as true of the wisdom of the dry-as-dusts as of the wisdom of those who write interestingly. Moreover, while the value of the by-products of knowledge does not readily yield itself to quantitative expression, it is none the less real. A utilitarian education should undoubtedly be the foundation of all education. But it is far from advisable, it is far from wise, to have it the end of all education. Technical training will more and more be accepted as the prime factor in our educational system, a factor as essential for the farmer, the blacksmith, the seamstress, and the cook, as for the lawyer, the doctor, the engineer, and the stenographer. For similar reasons the purely practical and technical lessons of history, the lessons that help us to grapple with our immediate social and industrial problems, will also receive greater emphasis than ever before. But if we are wise we will no more permit this practical training to exclude knowledge of that part of literature which is history than of that part of literature which is poetry. Side by side with the need for the perfection of the individual in the technique of his special calling goes the need of broad human sympathy, and the need of lofty and generous emotion in that individual. Only thus can the citizenship of the modern state rise level to the complex modern social needs.

No technical training, no narrowly utilitarian study of any kind will meet this second class of needs. In part they can best be met by a training that will fit men and women to appreciate, and therefore to profit by, great poetry, and those great expressions of the historian and the statesman which rivet our interest and stir our souls. Great thoughts match and inspire heroic deeds. The same reasons that make the Gettysburg speech and the Second Inaugural impress themselves on men's minds far more deeply than technical treatises on the constitutional justification of slavery or of secession, apply to fitting descriptions of the great battle and the great contest which occasioned the two speeches. The tense epic of the Gettysburg fight, the larger epic of the whole Civil War, when truthfully and vividly portrayed, will always have, and ought always to have, an attraction, an interest, that cannot be roused by the description of the same number of hours or years of ordinary existence. There are supreme moments in which intensity and not duration is the all-important element. History which is not professedly utilitarian,

history which is didactic only as great poetry is unconsciously didactic, may yet possess that highest form of usefulness, the power to thrill the souls of men with stories of strength and craft and daring, and to lift them out of their common selves to the heights of high endeavor.

The greatest historian should also be a great moralist. It is no proof of impartiality to treat wickedness and goodness as on the same level. But of course the obsession of purposeful moral teaching may utterly defeat its own aim. Moreover, unfortunately, the avowed teacher of morality, when he writes history, sometimes goes very far wrong indeed. It often happens that the man who can be of real help in inspiring others by his utterances on abstract principles is wholly unable to apply his own principles to concrete cases. Carlyle offers an instance in point. Very few men have ever been a greater source of inspiration to other ardent souls than was Carlyle when he confined himself to preaching morality in the abstract. Moreover his theory bade him treat history as offering material to support that theory. But not only was he utterly unable to distinguish either great virtues or great vices when he looked abroad on contemporary life—as witness his attitude toward our own Civil War—but he was utterly unable to apply his own principles concretely in history. His *Frederick the Great* is literature of a high order. It may, with reservations, even be accepted as history. But the "morality" therein jubilantly upheld is shocking to any man who takes seriously Carlyle's other writings in which he lays down principles of conduct. In his *Frederick the Great* he was not content to tell the facts. He was not content to announce his admiration. He wished to square himself with his theories, and to reconcile what he admired, both with the actual fact and with his previously expressed convictions on morality. He could only do so by refusing to face the facts and by using words with meanings that shifted to meet his own mental emergencies. He pretended to discern morality where no vestige of it existed. He tortured the facts to support his views. The "morality" he praised had no connection with morality as understood in the New Testament. It was the kind of archaic morality observed by the Danites in their dealings with the people of Laish. The sermon of the Mormon bishop in Owen Wister's "Pilgrim on the Gila" sets forth the only moral lessons which it was possible for Carlyle truthfully to draw from the successes he described.

History must not be treated as something set off by itself. It should not be treated as a branch of learning bound to the past by the shackles of an iron conservatism. It is neither necessary rigidly

to mark the limits of the province of history, nor to treat of all that is within that province, nor to exclude any subject within that province from treatment, nor yet to treat different methods of dealing with the same subject as mutually exclusive. Every writer and every reader has his own needs, to meet himself or to be met by others. Among a great multitude of thoughtful people there is room for the widest possible variety of appeals. Let each man fearlessly choose what is of real importance and interest to him personally, reverencing authority, but not in a superstitious spirit, because he must needs reverence liberty even more.

There is an infinite variety of subjects to treat, and no need to estimate their relative importance. Because one man is interested in the history of finance, it does not mean that another is wrong in being interested in the history of war. One man's need is met by exhaustive tables of statistics; another's by the study of the influence exerted on national life by the great orators, the Websters and Burkes, or by the poets, the Tyrtæuses and Koerners, who in crises utter what is in the nation's heart. There is need of the study of the historical workings of representative government. There is no less need of the study of the economic changes produced by the factory system. Because we study with profit what Thorold Rogers wrote of prices we are not debarred from also profiting by Mahan's studies of naval strategy. One man finds what is of most importance to his own mind and heart in tracing the effect upon humanity of the spread of malaria along the shores of the Aegean; or the effect of the Black Death on the labor-market of medieval Europe; or the profound influence upon the development of the African continent of the fatal diseases borne by the bites of insects, which close some districts to human life and others to the beasts without which humanity rests at the lowest stage of savagery. One man sees the events from one viewpoint, one from another. Yet another can combine both. We can be stirred by Thayer's study of Cavour without abating our pleasure in the younger Trevelyan's volumes on Garibaldi. Because we revel in Froissart, or Joinville, or Villehardouin, there is no need that we should lack interest in the books that attempt the more difficult task of tracing the economic changes in the status of peasant, mechanic, and burgher during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

History must welcome the entrance upon its domain of every science. As James Harvey Robinson in his *New History* has said:

The bounds of all departments of human research and speculation are inherently provisional, indefinite, and fluctuating; moreover, the lines of demarcation are hopelessly interlaced, for real men and the real universe

in which they live are so intricate as to defy all attempts even of the most patient and subtle German to establish satisfactorily and permanently the *Begriff und Wesen* of any artificially delimited set of natural phenomena, whether words, thoughts, deeds, forces, animals, plants, or stars. Each so-called science or discipline is ever and always dependent on other sciences and disciplines. It draws its life from them, and to them it owes, consciously or unconsciously, a great part of its chances of progress.

Elsewhere this writer dwells on the need of understanding the genetic side of history, if we are to grasp the real meaning of, and grapple most effectively with, the phenomena of our present-day lives; for that which is can be dealt with best if we realize at least in part from what a tangled web of causation it has sprung.

The work of the archaeologist, the work of the anthropologist, the work of the palaeo-ethnologist—out of all these a great literary historian may gather material indispensable for his use. He, and we, ought fully to acknowledge our debt to the collectors of these indispensable facts. The investigator in any line may do work which puts us all under lasting obligations to him, even though he be totally deficient in the art of literary expression, that is, totally deficient in the ability to convey vivid and lifelike pictures to others of the past whose secrets he has laid bare. I would give no scanty or grudging acknowledgment to the deeds of such a man. He does a lasting service; whereas the man who tries to make literary expression cover his ignorance or misreading of facts renders less than no service. But the service done is immeasurably increased in value when the man arises who from his study of a myriad dead fragments is able to paint some living picture of the past.

This is why the record as great writers preserve it has a value immeasurably beyond what is merely lifeless. Such a record pulses with immortal life. It may recount the deed or the thought of a hero at some supreme moment. It may be merely the portrayal of homely every-day life. This matters not, so long as in either event the genius of the historian enables him to paint in colors that do not fade. The cry of the Ten Thousand when they first saw the sea still stirs the hearts of men. The ruthless death scene between Jehu and Jezebel; wicked Ahab, smitten by the chance arrow, and propped in his chariot until he died at sundown; Josiah, losing his life because he would not heed the Pharaoh's solemn warning, and mourned by all the singing men and all the singing women—the fates of these kings and of this king's daughter, are part of the common stock of knowledge of mankind. They were petty rulers of petty principalities; yet, compared with them, mighty conquerors, who added empire to empire, Shalmaneser and Sargon, Amenhotep and

Rameses, are but shadows; for the deeds and the deaths of the kings of Judah and Israel are written in words that, once read, cannot be forgotten. The Peloponnesian War bulks of unreal size to-day because it once seemed thus to bulk to a master mind. Only a great historian can fittingly deal with a very great subject; yet because the qualities of chief interest in human history can be shown on a small field no less than on a large one, some of the greatest historians have treated subjects that only their own genius rendered great.

So true is this that if great events lack a great historian, and a great poet writes about them, it is the poet who fixes them in the mind of mankind, so that in after-time importance the real has become the shadow and the shadow the reality. Shakespeare has definitely fixed the character of the Richard III. of whom ordinary men think and speak. Keats forgot even the right name of the man who first saw the Pacific Ocean; yet it is his lines which leap to our minds when we think of the "wild surmise" felt by the indomitable explorer-conqueror from Spain when the vast new sea burst on his vision.

When, however, the great historian has spoken, his work will never be undone. No poet can ever supersede what Napier wrote of the storming of Badajoz, of the British infantry at Albuera, and of the light artillery at Fuentes d'Oñoro. After Parkman had written of Montcalm and Wolfe there was left for other writers only what Fitzgerald left for other translators of Omar Khayyam. Much new light has been thrown on the history of the Byzantine Empire by the many men who have studied it of recent years; we read each new writer with pleasure and profit; and after reading each we take down a volume of Gibbon, with renewed thankfulness that a great writer was moved to do a great task.

The greatest of future archaeologists will be the great historian who instead of being a mere antiquarian delver in dust heaps has the genius to reconstruct for us the immense panorama of the past. He must possess knowledge. He must possess that without which knowledge is of so little use, wisdom. What he brings from the charnel-house he must use with such potent wizardry that we shall see the life that was and not the death that is. For remember that the past was life just as much as the present is life. Whether it be Egypt, or Mesopotamia, or Scandinavia with which he deals, the great historian, if the facts permit him, will put before us the men and women as they actually lived so that we shall recognize them for what they were, living beings. Men like Maspero, Breasted, and Weigall have already begun this work for the countries of the Nile and the Euphrates. For Scandinavia the groundwork was laid long

ago in the *Heimskringla* and in such sagas as those of Burnt Njal and Gisli Soursof. Minute descriptions of mummies and of the furniture of tombs help us as little to understand the Egypt of the mighty days, as to sit inside the tomb of Mount Vernon would help us to see Washington the soldier leading to battle his scarred and tattered veterans, or Washington the statesman, by his serene strength of character, rendering it possible for his countrymen to establish themselves as one great nation.

The great historian must be able to paint for us the life of the plain people, the ordinary men and women, of the time of which he writes. He can do this only if he possesses the highest kind of imagination. Collections of figures no more give us a picture of the past than the reading of a tariff report on hides or woolens gives us an idea of the actual lives of the men and women who live on ranches or work in factories. The great historian will in as full measure as possible present to us the every-day life of the men and women of the age which he describes. Nothing that tells of this life will come amiss to him. The instruments of their labor and the weapons of their warfare, the wills that they wrote, the bargains that they made, and the songs that they sang when they feasted and made love; he must use them all. He must tell us of the toil of the ordinary man in ordinary times, and of the play by which that ordinary toil was broken. He must never forget that no event stands out entirely isolated. He must trace from its obscure and humble beginnings each of the movements that in its hour of triumph has shaken the world.

Yet he must not forget that the times that are extraordinary need especial portrayal. In the revolt against the old tendency of historians to deal exclusively with the spectacular and the exceptional, to treat only of war and oratory and government, many modern writers have gone to the opposite extreme. They fail to realize that in the lives of nations as in the lives of men there are hours so fraught with weighty achievement, with triumph or defeat, with joy or sorrow, that each such hour may determine all the years that are to come thereafter, or may outweigh all the years that have gone before. In the writings of our historians, as in the lives of our ordinary citizens, we can neither afford to forget that it is the ordinary every-day life which counts most; nor yet that seasons come when ordinary qualities count for but little in the face of great contending forces of good and of evil, the outcome of whose strife determines whether the nation shall walk in the glory of the morning or in the gloom of spiritual death.

The historian must deal with the days of common things, and

deal with them so that they shall interest us in reading of them as our own common things interest us as we live among them. He must trace the changes that come almost unseen, the slow and gradual growth that transforms for good or for evil the children and grandchildren so that they stand high above or far below the level on which their forefathers stood. He must also trace the great cataclysms that interrupt and divert this gradual development. He can no more afford to be blind to one class of phenomena than to the other. He must ever remember that while the worst offense of which he can be guilty is to write vividly and inaccurately, yet that unless he writes vividly he cannot write truthfully; for no amount of dull, painstaking detail will sum up as the whole truth unless the genius is there to paint the truth.

There can be no better illustration of what I mean than is afforded by the history of Russia during the last thousand years. The historian must trace the growth of the earliest Slav communities of the forest and the steppe, the infiltration of Scandinavian invaders who gave them their first power of mass action, and the slow, chaotic development of the little communes into barbarous cities and savage princedoms. In later Russian history he must show us priest and noble, merchant and serf, changing slowly from the days when Ivan the Terrible warred against Bátorý, the Magyar king of Poland, until the present moment, when with half-suspicious eyes the people of the Czar watch their remote Bulgarian kinsmen standing before the last European stronghold of the Turk. During all these centuries there were multitudes of wars, foreign and domestic, any or all of which were of little moment compared to the slow working of the various forces that wrought in the times of peace. But there was one period of storm and overthrow so terrible that it affected profoundly for all time the whole growth of the Russian people, in inmost character no less than in external dominion. Early in the thirteenth century the genius of Jenghiz Khan stirred the Mongol horsemen of the mid-Asian pastures to a movement as terrible to civilization as the lava flow of a volcano to the lands around the volcano's foot. When that century opened, the Mongols were of no more weight in the world than the Touaregs of the Sahara are to-day. Long before the century had closed they had ridden from the Yellow Sea to the Adriatic and the Persian Gulf. They had crushed Christian and Moslem and Buddhist alike beneath the iron cruelty of their sway. They had conquered China as their successors conquered India. They sacked Baghdad, the seat of the Khalif. In mid-Europe their presence for a moment caused the same horror to fall on the warring adherents of the pope and the kaiser. To

Europe they were a scourge so frightful, so irresistible, that the people cowered before them as if they had been demons. No European army of that day, of any nation, was able to look them in the face on a stricken field. Bestial in their lives, irresistible in battle, merciless in victory, they trampled the lands over which they rode into bloody mire beneath the hoofs of their horses. The squat, slit-eyed, brawny horse-bowmen drew a red furrow across Hungary, devastated Poland, and in Silesia overthrew the banded chivalry of Germany. But it was in Russia that they did their worst. They not merely conquered Russia, but held the Russians as cowering and abject serfs for two centuries. Every feeble effort at resistance was visited with such bloodthirsty vengeance that finally no Russian ventured ever to oppose them at all. But the princes of the cities soon found that the beast-like fury of the conquerors when their own desires were thwarted, was only equalled by their beast-like indifference to all that was done among the conquered people themselves, and that they were ever ready to hire themselves out to aid each Russian against his brother. Under this régime the Russian who rose was the Russian who with cringing servility to his Tartar overlords combined ferocious and conscienceless greed in the treatment of his fellow-Russians. Moscow came to the front by using the Tartar to help conquer the other Russian cities, paying as a price abject obedience to all Tartar demands. In the long run the fierce and pliant cunning of the conquered people proved too much for the short-sighted and arrogant brutality of the conquerors. The Tartar power, the Mongolian power, waned. Russia became united, threw off the yoke, and herself began a career of aggression at the expense of her former conquerors. But the reconquest of racial independence, vitally necessary though it was to Russia, had been paid for by the establishment of a despotism Asiatic rather than European in its spirit and working.

The true historian will bring the past before our eyes as if it were the present. He will make us see as living men the hard-faced archers of Agincourt, and the war-worn spearmen who followed Alexander down beyond the rim of the known world. We shall hear grate on the coast of Britain the keels of the Low-Dutch sea-thieves whose children's children were to inherit unknown continents. We shall thrill to the triumphs of Hannibal. Gorgeous in our sight will rise the splendor of dead cities, and the might of the elder empires of which the very ruins crumbled to dust ages ago. Along ancient trade routes, across the world's waste spaces, the caravans shall move; and the admirals of uncharted seas shall furrow the oceans with their lonely prows. Beyond the dim centuries

we shall see the banners float above armed hosts. We shall see conquerors riding forward to victories that have changed the course of time. We shall listen to the prophecies of forgotten seers. Ours shall be the dreams of dreamers who dreamed greatly, who saw in their vision peaks so lofty that never yet have they been reached by the sons and daughters of men. Dead poets shall sing to us the deeds of men of might and the love and the beauty of women. We shall see the dancing girls of Memphis. The scent of the flowers in the Hanging Gardens of Babylon will be heavy to our senses. We shall sit at feast with the kings of Nineveh when they drink from ivory and gold. With Queen Maeve in her sun parlor we shall watch the nearing chariots of the champions. For us the war-horns of King Olaf shall wail across the flood, and the harps sound high at festivals in forgotten halls. The frowning strongholds of the barons of old shall rise before us, and the white palace-castles from whose windows Syrian princes once looked across the blue Aegean. We shall know the valor of the two-sworded Samurai. Ours shall be the hoary wisdom and the strange, crooked folly of the immemorial civilizations which tottered to a living death in India and in China. We shall see the terrible horsemen of Timur the Lame ride over the roof of the world; we shall hear the drums beat as the armies of Gustavus and Frederick and Napoleon drive forward to victory. Ours shall be the woe of burgher and peasant, and ours the stern joy when freemen triumph and justice comes to her own. The agony of the galley-slaves shall be ours, and the rejoicing when the wicked are brought low and the men of evil days have their reward. We shall see the glory of triumphant violence, and the revel of those who do wrong in high places; and the broken-hearted despair that lies beneath the glory and the revel. We shall also see the supreme righteousness of the wars for freedom and justice, and know that the men who fell in these wars made all mankind their debtors.

Some day the historians will tell us of these things. Some day, too, they will tell our children of the age and the land in which we now live. They will portray the conquest of the continent. They will show the slow beginnings of settlement, the growth of the fishing and trading towns on the seacoast, the hesitating early ventures into the Indian-haunted forest. Then they will show the backwoods-men, with their long rifles and their light axes, making their way with labor and peril through the wooded wilderness to the Mississippi; and then the endless march of the white-topped wagon-trains across plain and mountain to the coast of the greatest of the five great oceans. They will show how the land which the pioneers won

slowly and with incredible hardship was filled in two generations by the overflow from the countries of western and central Europe. The portentous growth of the cities will be shown, and the change from a nation of farmers to a nation of business men and artisans, and all the far-reaching consequences of the rise of the new industrialism. The formation of a new ethnic type in this melting-pot of the nations will be told. The hard materialism of our age will appear, and also the strange capacity for lofty idealism which must be reckoned with by all who would understand the American character. A people whose heroes are Washington and Lincoln, a peaceful people who fought to a finish one of the bloodiest of wars, waged solely for the sake of a great principle and a noble idea, surely possess an emergency standard far above mere money-getting.

Those who tell the Americans of the future what the Americans of to-day and of yesterday have done, will perforce tell much that is unpleasant. This is but saying that they will describe the arch-typical civilization of this age. Nevertheless when the tale is finally told, I believe that it will show that the forces working for good in our national life outweigh the forces working for evil, and that, with many blunders and shortcomings, with much halting and turning aside from the path, we shall yet in the end prove our faith by our works, and show in our lives our belief that righteousness exalteth a nation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

PROFITABLE FIELDS OF INVESTIGATION IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY¹

THERE is a striking sentence in the prologue of Froissart's *Chronicles*, which in the sonorous Tudor translation runs:

It is said of trouth that al buyldynges are masoned and wroughte of dyverse stones, and all great ryvers are gurged and assemblede of divers surges and sprynges of water. In lyke wyse, all sciences are extraught and compiled of diverse clerkes; of that one wryteth, another, paraventure, is ignorant. But by the famous wrytyng of auncient auctours all thyngs is ben knowen in one place or other.

The student of history knows that even if history were not every year in the making and if new archives were not still accumulating, the sources of the past will ever continue to be an inexhaustible repository. The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns. The point of view changes from generation to generation, and new interests are accentuated. The amount of new-found source material pertaining to medieval history is relatively slight when compared with the mass of inscriptions, clay tablets, pyramid texts, and papyri which have broadened the horizon of antiquity so greatly in the past fifty years, or the vast collections of modern history still unexamined and even uncatalogued in European archives. And yet there is no field of history which will better reward the investigator than that of the Middle Ages, and there is probably no field in which greater progress is being made.

When the chairman of the programme committee invited me to prepare this paper, he expressed the wish that it should consist of a general view of the field in question in relation to investigation, indicating subjects which have been reasonably well worked out, and the lines along which study can at present most profitably be carried on. With your permission, I will reverse the order of these ideas, and consider some lines along which the study of medieval history can most profitably be carried on, for it were an uninteresting task to undertake that of warning people away from unprofitable subjects.

The dean of American medievalists some years ago, in an article which all doubtless know, but which the student of medieval history may re-read with great benefit, because of its pregnant suggestiveness, has said:²

¹ A paper read in a conference of students of medieval history, at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston, December 28, 1912.

² G. B. Adams, "Present Problems of Medieval History", *International Congress of Arts and Science*, III. 126-128.

There is no other considerable portion of history, ancient or modern, that has been as yet investigated with such minuteness as that which embraces the history of Europe from the beginning of the fifth century to the end of the ninth, and we may add that, as a natural result, regarding all questions of importance in this field there is now a nearly or quite general consensus of opinion among scholars. . . . In view of this condition of things . . . I should like in all earnestness to raise the question whether the time has not now come when the main force of our vigorous and advancing historical effort should be turned into some other portion of the field; whether scholarly work in the first half of medieval history is not likely to find itself more and more shut up to the study of minute facts, which are, it may be, interesting in themselves, but of no essential influence on the real current of affairs. If this is true, and the students of medieval history continue in the future as they have in the past to spend their chief effort in this field, are we not running some risk of that danger which seems to threaten every science at some period of its history, the danger of the development of a more or less barren scholasticism? . . . Have we not now reached the point in our study of the first half of the Middle Ages when we should expect and encourage, as the next step in advance, constructive rather than analytical work?

Unless this statement be understood to have reference to the larger things of institutional history, I trust that it will not seem captious to dissent in part from this opinion. Admitting the thoroughness of investigation in the case of early medieval history, can we yet believe that this period is so empty of opportunity to do analytical research, or that there is so completely settled an opinion regarding it? Is there not danger of our historical conclusions becoming too conventionalized and too fixed? The history of the medieval Church is one which has been notoriously conventionalized. It seems to me there is danger lest the great scholarship of men like Waitz, Roth, and Dahn compel too ready an acceptance, and our interpretation of early medieval history become too conventionalized under the great weight of their authority. Much analytical work may yet frequently be done and with profit in new study of an old subject. The graduate student may not unnaturally think that the greatest immediate progress will be made by the investigation of new and unexplored subjects, but this is not always so. The actual extent of existing information upon a given subject in and of itself is sometimes difficult to find. I have often thought that a valuable pro-seminar training would be the endeavor to ascertain the present historical status of certain problems and accurately to define that status with a view to further research.

Historical research ought ordinarily to be constructive in its results. I do not mean to imply that there is no room for destructive criticism, for this form of writing is necessary and valuable in its place as a corrective. Yet in the main it is true that historical re-

search ought to be constructive, not destructive. To prove a negative is ordinarily profitless.

The genuinely great product of historical investigation is four-square—its length and breadth and height are equal, and it has weight in proportion. Krumbacher's criticism of Drapeyron's *L'Empereur Héraclius*, "Ein dickes, aber ziemlich luftiges Buch",³ is as terse as it is crushing a judgment. The critical review of established conclusions by careful examination of another's method and criticism, or a new interpretation of familiar sources, may be of more proportionate value to the advancement of history than the investigation of an entirely new subject. The door of early medieval history, I believe, is still wide open to modern "high-power" research, if I may so phrase it, to re-examine evidence and make new valuations and new determinations. One who has read that wonderful fourth chapter in Bernheim is likely to rise from it skeptical of even the most accepted interpretation of events. In other words, old subjects may become new in the light of better methods or a new point of view. For the point of view is often of as much importance as the thing seen from it.

Let me illustrate this by an example falling directly within this circumscribed field of medieval history, between the decline of the Roman Empire and the break-up of the Carolingian Empire. The legislation of Charlemagne would seem to be a subject that has been exhaustively studied, and no document more so than the capitulary *De Villis*. This famous ordinance, from Montesquieu to Inama-Sternegg, has been assumed to have had uniform application to all imperial domains. Kaempfer's *Karl der Grosse* (Mainz, 1910) which gives special attention to economic conditions, assumes the traditional view. Yet during the present year this assumption has been heavily attacked by a German scholar, Alfons Dopsch.⁴ In the course of a searching examination of Inama-Sternegg's classic conclusions, Dopsch denies that the capitulary *De Villis* was intended to apply to the imperial domains in general. He contends that the capitulary was local in its application, and in all probability was intended to apply to Aquitaine only, and that it was issued in 794 or 795 for the instruction of Frank officials who actually administered Louis the Pious's toy kingdom of Aquitaine. Now, while this most recent conclusion must be accepted with caution, it yet seems to me to show that we cannot accept too unreservedly the view that "regarding all questions of importance in this field there is now a nearly or quite general consensus of opinion among scholars".

³ Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 1074 D.

⁴ Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit*, part I. (Weimar, 1912).

So fundamental an historical matter as the separation of the East and West⁵ in the fourth and fifth centuries is still full of obscurities. It is easy to use broad generalizations and point to the antagonism of culture, institutions, language, and the influence of religious variance. But the *actual detail* of this slow process of separation is still an unwritten chapter, the constructive writing of which cannot be done until patient preliminary analysis has been made.

If we go back into the history of the Church in the third and fourth centuries, the same state of affairs obtains. Much of our understanding of church history in this period is still unemancipated from tradition, and in many particulars we have not advanced far beyond Ruinart and Tillemont. Even admitting that the erudition of these scholars enabled them to be independent of the lodestone of ecclesiastical tradition, or the coercive influence of church authority, nevertheless their critical apparatus was a clumsy instrument when compared to the edged tool of a Scheffer-Boichorst, a Wattenbach, a Julien Havet, or a Léopold Delisle. Church history in the centuries lying on either side of 300 A.D. still embodies much that is venerable and conventionalized, awaiting new analysis. Let me give a case in point, that of the Edict of Milan. Seeck has assembled strong evidence to show that the so-called "Edict of Milan" was not actually an edict at all, but a letter addressed by Constantine's colleague Licinius to some official in the East enjoining him to see that the Edict of Galerius was enforced.⁶

I refrain from attempting to tabulate a list of the old wines that might be put into new bottles. Such a list would be merely a matter of opinion. But—voicing the opinion of others—as to profitable and unworked subjects of investigation in the early history of the Church, Harnack has mentioned two and Bury one.

1) The technical side of the spread of early Christian literature has not yet been investigated.⁷

2) Little attempt has yet been made to collect the opinions of Christians as to the personal character and regulations of the various emperors, although ample material lies in the Apologists, Melito, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Eusebius, etc., as well as in the Sibylline Oracles and the Apocryphal Acts.⁸

Since Harnack indicated this subject, two theses have partially

⁵ E. g. the diffusion of Latin as the language of administration in the East in the fifth century; see the declaration of the bishops at the Council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, IV. 1282) and that of Chalcedon in 451 (Mansi, VII. 54 and 455).

⁶ *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XII. 381 ff. But compare the reply of Görres, *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1892, pp. 282 ff.

⁷ Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, I. 376.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 43, note 3.

covered it, one in French, the other in German,⁹ but the whole body of apologetic literature yet remains to be studied.

3) The ecclesiastical policy of Justinian is still a field for research.¹⁰

No one needs to be told that some of the richest results in medieval research in the last thirty years have been in the field of economic history. In some subjects, the American medievalist has an advantage over his European confrère, because, if he has imagination, he will discover that there are certain events in his own history that will enable him to visualize the history of the Middle Ages more clearly than they. He ought to have keener historical perception of their nature and operation. In 1893, in his memorable paper upon "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", Professor Turner quoted the words of the Italian economist Loria: "America has the key to the historical enigma which Europe has sought for centuries in vain."

An admirable illustration of this is to be found in German history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Lamprecht has pointed out that the great deed of the German people in the Middle Ages¹¹ was the expansion of the German race eastward over the Slavonic nations and the making of three-fifths of modern Germany. The significance of the frontier in conditioning the history of Germany in the Middle Ages was little less than the significance of the frontier in shaping American history. But there is no German writer who has perceived it with the vividness with which Professor Turner has set forth the influence of American western expansion. The reason is not hard to find. The European frontier is a fortified line, an artificial barrier, running through densely populated regions. The stages in Germany's eastward expansion and the formative processes which made that expansion have largely become obliterated. In the United States west of the Alleghanies, the history of this process is still intimately associated with family and personal history. Men are yet living whose grandsires settled Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, whose fathers made Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. To the American the history of the making of the great West is still a vivid personal and family history. To the German scholar the history of the making of the Northeast is an academic question. The German pioneer is seven hundred years removed from the students of Berlin

⁹ Dennerly, "Les Sentiments des Chrétiens à l'égard de l'Empereur d'après les Acta Primorum Martyrum et Selecta de Dom Th. Ruinart", *Positions de Thèses de l'Université de Paris* (1896); Morawitzky, *Die Kaiseridee in den echten und unechten Märtyrerakten der Christenverfolgungen des Decius* (Breslau, 1909).

¹⁰ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (ed. Bury), I. introduction, p. lx.

¹¹ Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III. 349.

and Leipzig. The American pioneer is less than a century's distance from the American scholar of to-day, and is not yet a wholly vanished factor.

This parallel between American westward expansion and German eastward expansion in the Middle Ages is not a fanciful one. With scarcely more than change of dates and proper names many of the paragraphs in Professor Turner's essay may be applied to German medieval history. The line of the Elbe, Oder, and Vistula rivers as clearly demarked the eastward expansion of Germany as the "fall line" of the Atlantic seaboard, the Alleghanies, and the Mississippi delimited the formation of the West. That "return to primitive conditions in a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development of that area", which is so manifest in American expansion, is just as true of the history of the German border. The stages of transition are identical—from cattle-raising and swine-herding to farming, to commerce, to manufacturing. In the time of the Ottos, the Saxon peasant fed his cattle in the plains of the Elbe and Saale rivers, and the Thuringian herded swine on the pine-slopes of the Harz. The cowpens were not far from the town life of old Franconia—Mainz, Worms, Speyer, as they were near the "fall line" in the colonies when tide-water cities like Baltimore, Richmond, and Charleston had become staid communities. Erfurt, Hallstadt, Forchheim, Priemberg, Schesel, Magdeburg, were fortified trading depots with the Wends like forts Granville, Shirley, and Bedford in Pennsylvania, Cumberland in Virginia, Chiswell on the Great Kanawha, and Prince George above the Saluda. These German fortified towns were often built on the site of former Slavonic villages, as Indian villages were occupied over here. Beyond these posts the German pack-trader, with whom furs were an important article of trade, threaded the Slavonic wilderness as his American successor pierced the Alleghany watershed into the plains of Kentucky and Ohio.

The Franconian period witnessed the transition of Lower Germany from cattle-raising and barter to a more settled agricultural régime and an awakening trade. The war of investiture, which fell so heavily on Saxony, changed its pioneer simplicity and plain social texture. Saxony was feudalized after the manner of Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. The result was that the hardier spirits "trekked" eastward to new lands, leaving the great manors of Church and noble, which had supplanted the Saxon free-farmer, to be farmed more intensively by Flemish and Dutch colonists used to deep ploughings in the heavy soils of the Low Countries, who were imported by Henry the Lion and Adolph of Mecklenburg.

As "the most significant thing about the American frontier is that it lies at the hither edge of free land", so one of the most striking things about the medieval German frontier is that it lay at the edge of feudalized land. I do not mean, of course, to say that Brandenburg was not a feudal state; but the conditions, institutional and social, varied so much in degree between Brandenburg and the rest of Germany, that a certain parallel between the borderland of Germany and our own western lands can be made. The rectangular survey has a certain prototype in the rectangular *manus regalis* of the East German border, which was adopted in place of the complex manor of older Germany, with its demesne, its strips of glebe land, and dividing "balks".

East of the Elbe, the village was laid out in a long street with houses on either side; behind the house, in a single rectangular tract, stretched the homestead lands—first the fields, then the pasture land, and behind these the wood-lot. This manner of settling new tracts spread to other parts of Germany later in the Middle Ages—into Upper Bavaria, the Black Forest, the Odenwald; nearly one-quarter of Silesia was so colonized, as later the marsh lands between the Oder, the Wartha, and the Netze. But the whole system goes back to the Dutch settlers first established in 1106 along the North Sea littoral¹² and in clearings in the Franconian forest, and then *in extenso* in Brandenburg. A charter of Albert the Bear¹³ mentions these manors of Dutch measurement—*mansos Hollandriensis dimensionis*. The contention of Mr. Douglas Campbell that the rectangular survey here in America was derived from the Dutch may be doubted. But there is a striking analogy in practice and results between this manorial rectangular survey, undeniably of Dutch origin, which obtained in medieval Brandenburg, and our own system of public land survey.

There are other details also of German frontier history that ought to be more luminous to the American student of history than to the German. When the silver mines of the Erzgebirge were discovered in 1171 there was a rush from the older mining region of the Harz that resembled the gold fever of '49 and carried the German frontier at a bound to the Upper Elbe, as the American frontier leaped the plains to the Pacific. The salt springs of Hallstadt and other places in Germany conditioned expansion and

¹² See the charter of the Bishop of Hamburg (1106) to "certain people called Hollanders", in Altmann and Bernheim, no. 68. The grants measured "720 royal rods long and 30 royal rods wide", approximately 13½ acres. For Flemings in Austria see the charter of Leopold VI. (1208) in Reich, *Select Documents*, p. 265. The literature is indicated in Schwind-Dopsch, *Urkunden* (1895), p. 38 ff.

¹³ Riedel, *Die Mark Brandenburg*, II. 51.

settlement, as those of the Kanawha, of Kentucky, and of southern Indiana influenced the westward movement of American pioneers between 1780 and 1820. The colonies of Flemings and Hollanders established in lower Saxony in the time of Henry the Lion and in Brandenburg by Albert the Bear, the Angle colony about Merseburg, the settlements of Saxon miners in the Bohemian mountains, and the sixteen free "Zips" towns founded in the Hungarian Zipser-Erzgebirge were woven into the texture of medieval German society as the Dutch of the Hudson, the Germans of the Mohawk, and the Palatine Germans of the Shenandoah Valley and Piedmont have been merged with the American people.

When commerce and trade became established along the Oder and Vistula, and the fair of Frankfort-on-the-Oder rivalled that of Frankfort-on-the-Main, the German possession of Wollin at the mouth of the Oder and Danzig at that of the Vistula, which belonged to Denmark, was just as important to eastern German trade then as it was to the United States to secure Mobile and New Orleans to protect our own western trade. The problem and the conditions were not unsimilar.

Again, everyone knows the particularism which characterized central and western Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and that it was largely absent in Brandenburg and Austria. Why? Because they were *border* states. There was less particularism in them for the same reason that particularism in America was strongest in colonies with no Indian problem. There was less feudal caste and more democracy in Brandenburg than elsewhere in Germany at the same time, just as American democracy had its birth in the "New West" of Jackson and Benton. Even in religion a not unremote similarity of conditions produced similar results. Helmold¹⁴ is struck with the revival of missionary spirit on the German frontier where Norbert ministered in Magdeburg and Wicelin in Lübeck, that finds its psychological parallel—not absolute, of course, but relative—in the strong revivalist tendencies observable in the pioneer communities among whom Cartwright labored.

I have spent more time, perhaps, than I should have done upon this subject, but it will not have been done in vain if, by this detailed illustration, I have succeeded in convincing the American student that there are more things in the history of medieval Germany than Riedel and Raumer and Heinemann and Meitzen, or even Lamprecht have divined. He can see what they have not; his historical imagination ought to be quicker than theirs.

But if America has the key to the understanding of the devel-

¹⁴ Helmold, I. 54.

opment of the German frontier, no less have the English in India and Egypt a key to the understanding of the Plantagenet empire which has not yet been used. We lose historical proportion and we shorten English history in regarding English imperialism as a wholly modern thing. Bordeaux was as far from London in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as Bombay is to-day. Making all allowance for the great differences, Guienne was a dependency not unlike India to-day, where Britain learned its earliest lessons in colonial government.¹⁵ Edward I.'s sixteen years' residence in Aquitaine was a period of preparation and a school of political education that may be compared with Wellington's career in India. Think of the numbers of Englishmen then as now in her colonial service; of the problems of administration; of the commercial relation between the two countries. Full treatment of the interior development and external history of Guienne must await the completion of the publication of the *Gascon Rolls*. But there is a wealth of material already indicated in the volumes of the Public Record Office *Calendars* which may be supplemented by much French material.

To use a miner's phrase, there are old "diggings" in history, capable of being newly worked, and many unexplored fields. Every one knows that improved machinery and the cyanide process of ore extraction have revolutionized mining to-day and made profitable use of matter once discarded. So modern historical research, with new and critical editions of the sources, keener criticism, and above all, greater sympathetic imagination, new kinds of interests, new points of view, has extracted new evidence and amassed new information from sources which the old-school historian would have thought exhausted. An illustration of this is to be found in Luchaire's *La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste*. On page 430 of this work Luchaire, as Mr. Powicke has pointed out,¹⁶ "makes the startling and interesting suggestion that the rural population was much more nomadic, much less sedentary in the days of Philip Augustus than it is to-day. He gives instances of the flight and removal of whole villages. If this conclusion be correct, the author was obviously at the threshold of important economic and social discoveries which might clear up the problem of medieval population"—and it might be added, might even enable us to settle the furious and unabated controversy as to the *homo migrans* of the Lex Salica.

One can never be sure that the last drop has been pressed out

¹⁵ Cf. the remarks of Montagu Burrows, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire* (London, 1886), p. 18.

¹⁶ *English Historical Review*, XXV, 565 (1910).

of the grape. Dr. Cunningham says that "the life of Anskar gives a good many interesting hints as to northern commerce in the ninth century",¹⁷ and refers to chapters 16, 19, 22, 28, 29, and 41. But when I read the life I was surprised that he had omitted three of the most interesting chapters, *viz.*, 20, 24, 27.

Luchaire, Flach, Viollet, Lot, Pfister, Guilhaume, Garreau, and others have done notable service in investigating the history of feudal France. But I do not believe that we may say that their findings—even when they all agree, as they do not—are permanent. Conclusions are not final but tentative still. Who will deny that this epoch is imperfectly known? We know little of lay life, especially lower lay life, before the period of the towns, and little enough then. Relations were primitive; conventions oftener oral than written, and little of these remain. Even the written sources give limited information, as of a place at a given moment. They leave in darkness the condition of a great part of the country over years together. A *geographical* classification of the sources would be valuable to show the magnitude of the gaps, and this has not yet been made. In the domain of local investigation historical research is very necessary and very fruitful. National history to-day rests on intensive local research. It is beyond the powers of any one man to sift all the sources of an entire epoch, but a great historian may take of these local quarries of humble workmen and build the materials into the edifice of a history of national dimensions. To take merely one instance—historians of the peasant revolt of 1525 in Germany will never be able to pass over Hirn's little study of the Landtag of the Tyrol between 1518 and 1525.

The field of ecclesiastical institutions in France and England is full of fertile topics of investigation. There are few monographs upon the history of monastic administration in medieval France and fewer still of England.¹⁸ The history of English ecclesiastical institutions, especially in their local workings, is far behind that of Germany and France. The subject of the alien priories of England has been cleared up by Mr. New in a recent dissertation. But how many more remain! In England the reign of John saw the beginning of the lay rector. But what of the origin and practice of the office and the process of its decline? A similar query arises as to rural deaneries in both England and France, especially in the former.

The debris of the Carolingian régime to which feudal France fell heir was greater than is usually supposed, especially in the

¹⁷ Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, I, 32, note.

¹⁸ Luchaire, *Manuel*, p. 78.

region south of Picardy and Normandy, i. e., the old duchy of France, comprising the Ile-de-France, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, the Orléannais, and Poitou.¹⁹ It would be worth while for some one to trace these survivals and assemble the evidence thereof.

The broken threads of the Carolingian system were more woven into the texture of feudal society and institutions than is usually supposed. There is need for scholarship yet to unravel the threads. We know, for example, the status of the *minores* and *mediocres* in the barbaric codes,²⁰ and we meet the same *names* late in the tenth and eleventh centuries. But do they connote the same things? Du Cange fails us wholly on this subject. One turns to Waitz, "that vast and orderly museum of desiccated antiquities", as Mr. Herbert Fisher has characterized it,²¹ and gets little light.²²

Of the *minores* Waitz has not a word. Even Guilhiermoz and Flach fail to help. Were the *minores* the least of the feudality? If so, to what rank did they belong? What were their feudal rights and obligations? Or did they pertain, as one of the editors of Richer thinks,²³ not to the noble, but to the servile class? Were the *mediocres* synonymous with them? Or were they, as Poinssignon has hazarded—I think wholly in error—the remnant of the allodial proprietors who were left?²⁴ We must guard against being deceived by the *names* of things. The transformation of Europe between the ninth and twelfth centuries was so great that a monk of the twelfth century avows that, in reading the charters of earlier centuries, he could not recognize the institutions of his own time in them; that sometimes it was impossible to understand the terminology of two hundred years before.²⁵

¹⁹ Cf. the observations of Guilhiermoz, *L'Origine de la Noblesse en France au Moyen Âge*, p. 191.

²⁰ MacNeal, *The Minores and Mediocres in the Barbaric Codes* (Chicago, 1904).

²¹ Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I. 7.

²² *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III. 491; IV. 281; V. 188.

²³ Richer (ed. Poinssignon), vol. I., ch. 9, p. 23.

²⁴ Cf. Chénon, *Étude sur l'Histoire des Alleux*, who nowhere entertains this idea.

²⁵ "Ea quae primo scripturus sum a praesenti usu admodum discrepare videntur; nam rolli conscripti ab antiquis et in armario nostro nunc reperti, habuisse minime ostendunt illius temporis rusticos has consuetudines in redivis quos moderni rustici in hoc tempore dinoscuntur habere; neque habent vocabula rerum quas tunc sermo habebat vulgaris. . . . Quaedam loca scripta inveni, quorum nunc nomina ita sunt abolita, et innotata, ut ab hominibus penitus ignorentur, nedum habeantur." Cited by Guérard, *Prolégomènes. Polyptyque d'Irminon*, p. 502. Compare with this the wise words of M. Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long*, introduction, p. ix, quoting M. Langlois, "Le moyen âge est si peu immuable, le mécanisme des institutions y est si fréquemment modifié, les mots mêmes y changent si souvent de signification qu'à moins de se complaire dans le vague et dans l'erreur, il est nécessaire de le diviser en tranches chronologiques, et

The status of the *minores* and *mediocres* in the feudal period has yet to be defined. If I may hazard an opinion it is that in these two classes we find two examples of that debris of the Carolingian régime to which allusion has been made. The burden of military service in the time of Charlemagne was so great that the emperor, as all know, attempted to graduate it by providing for service from fractions of manors. The same practice obtained in the twelfth century.

In Flanders and Picardy, Anjou, Maine, Poitou, the Orléannais, and Normandy, by the side of the *fiefs de haubert* we find *demi-pairies*, *demi-fiefs de haubert*, and even fractional *roncins de service*, less than half. M. Guilhaumez has described the feudal practice,²⁶ but he has not carefully determined the categories. I am inclined to believe, but it remains to be proved, that the *minores* and *mediocres* were different degrees of the lower ranks of the noblesse whose feudal aids were fractioned in this wise. But the subject is one of obscurity and ought to be cleared up.

The whole question of the development of modern out of feudal taxation is obscure. Why should French and German scholars be left to study it? That origin is intimately associated in France with the history of the origin of the States-General, which itself is one of obscurity, and in England with the history of the formation of Parliament. Luchaire's opinion that the States-General emanated from the Curia Regis seems as unacceptable as that of Callery, who thinks that the estates were summoned solely to vote extraordinary sums for the king.²⁷

Passing from France to Spain, as Spain was the California of the Roman Empire, so to-day it is the Eldorado of the medievalist—the country whose history is everywhere open to research. Professor Merriman has done a service for American medievalists by his article on "The Cortes of the Spanish Kingdom" in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, April, 1911, which draws "the attention of historical students in this country to a field entirely unexplored and of the richest possibilities".

d'étudier séparément de même qu'on n'arrive à connaître l'ensemble d'une région qu'après avoir visité, décrit et mesuré chacun des cantons qui la composent", Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe le Hardi*, p. 11.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 190-191, 210-213, 224.

²⁷ See Luchaire, "Une Théorie récente sur l'Origine des États-Généraux" in *Annales de la Faculté de Bordeaux*, IV, 50, a review of Callery's article in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXIX, 61-119 (1881). At page 224 is Callery's rejoinder to M. Luchaire and at page 234 is the latter's reply to that rejoinder. For a discussion of the relative merits of these views and the indication of a line of valuable research as to the origin of modern taxation see Pfister, "La France sous les Valois", in *Revue des Cours et des Conférences*, XIX, 465-479, 597-604, 684-694, especially pp. 598-599 and 684-685.

In the commercial history of Europe in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, the wine-trade of France and Spain is little less important than the wool-trade. Yet the literature of the wool-trade is large; that pertaining to the wine-trade relatively small.²⁸ The same observation holds good of the fisheries.²⁹ When one realizes how enormous was the consumption of fish in the Middle Ages, not only because of the frequent fasts of the Church, but because it was the poor man's food and could be easily secured and conveniently shipped, the absence of any adequate work on medieval fisheries, especially those of the North Sea, is remarkable. Together with the wool-trade, the wine-trade of Guienne and the question of the North Sea, Channel, and Biscay fisheries were the three economic causes of the Hundred Years' War. Yet we know only the history of the wool-trade with any fullness.

The answer to these economic questions would do much to clear up other phases of the history of the time, as for example the question of the commercial factor in England's parliamentary advance in the fourteenth century, and conversely, how far the failure of the French States-General may be ascribed to the destruction of French commerce in the Hundred Years' War and the consequent levelling of the bourgeoisie.

The history of the *douanes* is yet imperfectly known, though there are some good monographs on particular localities. There is abundant material for the study, and the results ought to be valuable. Germany is better off in this particular, where Lamprecht opened the way. In the history of agriculture the same kind of a blank exists with regard to *métayage*. In origin the practice goes back well beyond the eleventh century, and a study of the subject would do much to enlarge our understanding of the manorial régime. Lamprecht has done it for Germany, but France has yet to find her Lamprecht. A work upon the banking activities of the Bardi family of Florence is highly desirable. Unfortunately, the family archives are valueless; so perhaps the completeness of Signor Peruzzi's work upon his illustrious ancestors cannot be obtained. But Yver discovered so much in the Neapolitan archives about the Bardi bankers in

²⁸ There is abundant material in the sources for this subject and much information is to be found in works like Fréville, *Mémoire sur le Commerce maritime de Rouen*; Michel, *Histoire du Commerce de Bordeaux*; Finot, *Relations Commerciales de la France*. But a synthetic treatment of the subject is lacking. The best is Simon, *History of the Wine Trade of England* (London, 1906), vol. I.

²⁹ Cf. Engels, *Die Seefischereien des Baltisch-Skandinavischen Meeres* (Marburg, 1900). An old but good work is Zörgdrager (trans. Resté), *Histoire des Pêches, des Découvertes et des Établissements des Hollandais dans les Mers du Nord* (1791).

the kingdom of Naples, and Davidsohn so much in the Florentine archives, that one may believe that, with the addition of the archive material in London, Paris, and elsewhere, the history of this famous Tuscan banking house can be adequately written.

Medieval industrial history fairly bristles with questions. Professor Cheyney has pointed out that "no thorough and scholarly description of the craft guilds [of medieval England] exists. On the other hand, a considerable body of original materials is easily accessible."³⁰ Even in Germany, to say nothing of France and England, there is need of a work upon the conflict between the craft guilds and the monastery shops.³¹ One economic cause of the Reformation lies in that competition. The French statute of laborers contains 252 articles and fills 28 folio pages in the second volume of the *Ordonnances*. But it has been indifferently examined, not nearly to the same degree as the English statute, and would repay the investigator quite as fully.

In closing let me say that there is a subject of later medieval history to be cleared up which may prove to have an important bearing on colonial American history. It is well known that many of the medieval guilds, especially in the later Middle Ages, were quasi-religious in character.³² These "pious" guilds were very common in Norfolk. Now the Brownist Separatist movement began in Norfolk and was strongest there. The first Separatist church was established in Norwich. The problem is how far early English Congregationalism was influenced by these religious fraternities. If this influence can be historically established the genesis of New England history will have been pushed back a stage farther into the later Middle Ages. Borgeaud³³ says that "among a hundred statutes of the ancient Guilds of England, which have been collected and published by Toulmin Smith, forty-six are the statutes of pious foundations in the county of Norfolk, and twelve of these belong to the single town of Norwich, the cradle of Congregationalism."

Kindred to this problem is the relation of the merchant guild to the chartered company. If behind the chartered company stood the merchant guild and articulation between the two be found, then a new chapter will have been added to the origins of American institutional history.

³⁰ Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, p. 73.

³¹ The only things upon this subject of which I know are: Kaser, *Politische und Soziale Bewegungen zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1899); Becker, *Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse des Westfälischen Benediktinerklosters Liesborn am Ende des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1909).

³² Ashley, *English Economic History*, pp. 139-141.

³³ Borgeaud, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England* (London, 1894), p. 87, note 1.

I must apologize for overloading this paper with examples drawn chiefly from economic and social history. My excuse is that for the past three years my study has been largely along this line. May I add one more word? Perhaps the most striking characteristic of historical writing during the past forty years has been the fact that the bearing of economic and social phenomena has been so largely recognized. But signs are not wanting that a change is at hand. The writing of history goes through cycles. It may be that the economic interpretation of history will ere long be succeeded by the psychological interpretation. It is in the sphere of medieval history, in particular, that psychological interpretation will find its field of study, and it is to the young scholar that this work will chiefly fall.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

COLUMBUS A SPANIARD AND A JEW¹

SOME twelve or fifteen years ago, a Spanish scholar, Don García de la Riega, a principal citizen of Pontevedra in Galicia, whose name has been given to one of the streets of that town, discovered from the local archives that in the fifteenth century a family was established there of the name of Colon, several members of which bore the same forenames as are to be found among the Colombos of Genoa, the kinsmen of Christopher Columbus. In 1434 and in 1437, there was at Pontevedra a Domingo Colon; in 1438 a Bartolomé Colon; in 1496 a Cristobo Colon; in 1434 a Blanca Colon. Now, Domenico was the name of the father of the discoverer of America, who had a younger brother called Bartolomeo, and a sister called Bianchinetta. Furthermore, Señor de la Riega found out that during the same period there was at Pontevedra a Fonterossa family who had relations with the Colons, and who were Jews, if we are to judge by their Biblical forenames.

Struck by these interesting coincidences, he asked himself if this Domingo Colon of Pontevedra might not possibly be the father of Christopher Columbus, and if Christopher himself, about whose birthplace there has been so much discussion, might not have been born in Galicia, instead of in Genoa, as everyone has come to suppose; and might it not also be that the Discoverer's mother, whose name of Susanna is Jewish and whose family name of Fontenarossa closely resembles that of the Jewish family of Fonterossa of Pontevedra, was herself of that same family?

Clearly the documents which have been brought to light establish nothing of the kind; but, in the absence of explicit deeds to that effect, one may always fall back on hypothesis, which has precisely for its object the supplying of absent proofs. Let us suppose, for instance, that the Domingo Colon of Pontevedra married the daughter

¹ *Cristóbal Colon Español!* Conferencia por Celso García de la Riega en sesión pública celebrada por la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid. (Madrid, tipografía de Fortenet, 1898, pp. 43).

La Verdadera Patria de Cristóbal Colon. Por Fernando de Antón del Olmet. (*La España Moderna*, Junio, 1910. Madrid).

The Secret of Columbus. By Hyland C. Kirk. (Washington, Hayworth, 1912, pp. 62).

La Verdadera Cuna de Cristóbal Colon. Por el Dr. Constantino de Horta y Pardo. (New York, John B. Jonathan, 1912, pp. 96).

of a Fonterossa; that this girl was called Susanna, which was the name of Columbus's mother; that from this marriage came several children, the elder two of whom were Christopher and Bartholomew; and, finally, let us suppose that between the years 1444 and 1450, a period when troubles broke out in Galicia, Domingo, his wife Susanna, and their sons Christopher and Bartholomew left their native land and took refuge in Genoa, there changing their Spanish name of Colon into its Italian form of Colombo.

Accept as facts all these suppositions and at once no further uncertainty remains; matters being thus arranged, assume the form it is desired to give them, and Columbus becomes a Spaniard from the place of his birth and a Jew by blood as well on his mother's as on his father's side, for it is the custom of Israelites to intermarry among themselves.

Señor de la Riega next proceeds to study the question, and, as we are told, after long and minute researches he becomes convinced that things had happened just as he had supposed, and that the Colombos of Genoa, the father, mother, and brother of Christopher, as also Christopher himself, were no other than the Colons of Spain, and Jews of Pontevedra.

It was to set forth this thesis that he gave a lecture, several times repeated and always welcomed with applause, before the Geographical Society of Madrid; it was in order to make it more widely known that Señor Anton del Olmet made it the subject of a literary article in *La España Moderna*; it was with a view to propagating it that Professor Hyland C. Kirk, of Washington, wrote *The Secret of Columbus*, and it was with the same motive that a learned gentleman of Cuba, Dr. Constantino Horta y Pardo, had 25,000 copies of his pamphlet *La Verdadera Cuna de Cristóbal Colon* printed and sent to all the governments, learned societies, and distinguished personalities, with a circular in four languages in which the recipients are entreated to move heaven and earth—*Que Removiendo Cielo y Tierra*—in order to spread the tidings that Columbus was born in Spain, in the province of Galicia!

What is even more extraordinary than this noisy propaganda is the complacency with which was welcomed a thesis absolutely at variance with historic data accepted by all the world. In fact, apart from a few Italian publications, it was nearly everywhere received as an interesting revelation which would change history on a point which had been considered as definitely settled.

It is time to restore things to their places, and we proceed to do so as briefly as possible.

Without pausing at what is improbable in the suppositions to which Señor de la Riega is driven in order to set his thesis on its feet, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out two weighty objections which forcibly tell against its acceptance. The first is the existence of authentic documents which reveal to us the family of Columbus established in the territory of Genoa from 1429 until the end of the century and even beyond it. The second is the testimony of Columbus himself, of his son Ferdinand, and of the greater part of his contemporaries, that he was a Genoese.

These documents and evidences are so numerous and explicit that there is but one way to set them aside, and that is to deny that the first relate to our Columbus, and to misrepresent the second. Señor de la Riega and his followers have not hesitated to adopt this method. As it is proved that there existed in all the Latin countries numerous families bearing the names of Colon, Coulon, and Colombo, three variants of the same word, they assure us, that the Genoa Colombos, looked upon as the kinsfolk of Columbus, had really nothing to do with him, that the Domenico Colombo, weaver of Genoa and Savona, mentioned in these documents was not his father, and the Cristoforo, son of Domenico and weaver whom they likewise mention, refers to some other person than the Discoverer. Such an assertion signifies that conscientious scholars like Staglieno, Belgrano, Desimoni, Salvagnini, Lollis, Harrisse, and others, who for years have examined, studied, and expounded these documents, have committed the grave error of attributing to Columbus a father, mother, brothers, a sister, an uncle, and cousins who were strangers to him. This appears so extraordinary that one waits with curiosity the proofs of so downright a condemnation of so many learned works carried on for many years, and justly esteemed. Let us see in what their proofs consist.

Among the Italian documents referring to Cristoforo Colombo, son of Domenico, one of the most important bears the date of 1470, and therein he is represented as being nineteen years of age, therefore placing his birth in the year 1451, that is to say at a period later than the one in which he is supposed to have left Pontevedra with his father, mother, and brother. This document, we are airily told, does not relate to the Discoverer. Why? Because, according to Bernaldez who knew him personally, he was born in 1436 and was therefore thirty-three or thirty-four years old in 1470. But the evidence of Bernaldez is not to be accepted here, for among other reasons which prove him to be mistaken, there is one that is decisive; this is the existence of a document, discovered some years and coming from Columbus himself, wherein he declares, in 1479, that he

was then over twenty-seven years of age, which confirms the first date.²

The Colombo who made this declaration, we are again told, is not our Christopher, who in 1479 was much older than twenty-seven. Señor de la Riega and those who adopt his views might have said to themselves that if Columbus was born in 1436 there was an interval of twenty-five years between his birth and that of his brother, a fact which would be quite abnormal. We possess as a matter of fact a deposition by Bartholomew, dated 1512, in which he states that he was then over fifty years of age.³ Bartholomew was therefore born in 1461 or 1462, and consequently could not have left Pontevedra between 1444 and 1450 with his brother Christopher who was not himself then born.

These reasons are not the only ones we are given in order to deny that the Colombos of Genoa were of the family of Columbus. Here are some others. If the Colombos had been of kin to the Discoverer, they would not have failed, so we are informed, to put in their claims when he had become a great personage, which they do not appear to have done. What then signify the legal documents whereby the creditors of Domenico, who had died intestate, *sub-poena* as responsible his sons Christopher and Bartholomew and Diego, all of whom, according to the said documents, were then in Spain?⁴ We are answered that these documents are apocryphal. Well, then, is that also a forged document wherein Giannetto, Matteo, and Amighetto Colombo, sons of Antonio Colombo, Domenico's brother, agree to send one of themselves to their cousin Christopher, admiral in Spain—"amiratum regis Ispanie"—to solicit his protection?⁵

The deeds of 1472 mentioning Cristoforo Colombo, son of Domenico, and wool-stapler at Genoa—"lanerio de Janua"—also do not refer to the Discoverer they say, because he was then in Portugal and was about to marry. But, since the discovery of the deeds produced by Salvagnini, it is demonstrated that Columbus landed for the first time in Portugal in 1476, and that it was not until after February, 1477, that he was able to establish himself in Lisbon, where his marriage must have taken place about 1479 or 1480, because on his arrival in Spain in 1484-1485 with his son Diego, the latter was still a little boy.

These are the proofs given by our authors in order to show that

² See this document in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XII. 277-279 (January, 1907).

³ *Los Pleitos de Colon* (Madrid, 1892), I. 182.

⁴ *Raccolta Colombiana, Documenti*, nos. 89 and 90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 83.

the Colombos of Genoa were not of the Discoverer's family. The method they employ for the purpose of establishing as a fact that the contemporaries and friends of Columbus did not look on him as a Genoese is even more astonishing. We run rapidly through what they say on this point.

On two separate occasions Columbus has himself written that he was born in Genoa, "jo nacido en Genova", and, "en ella naci".⁶ This, we are told, is of no value because it suited Columbus to give himself out as being a Genoese, for had it been known that he was a Jew from Pontevedra he would have been persecuted by the Inquisition. Moreover, it is added, his statement is contradicted by the testimony of a great many people.

Let us run through this testimony. In the first place the son of Columbus is himself called as a witness, because in the life he wrote of his father he feigns not to know his birthplace. This is incorrect. In a particular passage of his book, the only one quoted by our authors, he speaks, it is true, of doubts which have been thrown on this point. But for him these doubts do not exist, for further on he states that at Lisbon his father found several of his Genoese countrymen, "della sua nazione Genovese",⁷ and in his will he thus describes himself: "Don Fernando Colon, hijo de D. Cristóbal Colon Ginovés."⁸

Let us turn to the younger brother of Columbus, to Bartholomew. One of these learned gentlemen informs us that he was born in Portugal, and this, he adds, justifies the belief that Christopher was also a native of that place; and, as proof of the fact, he quotes Gallo, a distinguished Genoese, who had intercourse with the Colombo family, and who wrote: "sed Bartolomeus minor natu in Lusitania". Gallo did in fact write these words, but he added: "demum Ulisipone constiterat", the full rendering being: Bartholomew, the younger in birth—"minor natu"—at length settled at Lisbon in Portugal.⁹ Anyone may see that this is not quite the same thing. But our authors are tenacious, and having once scheduled an error, they stick to it. Not only, they further assure us, has Gallo said that Bartholomew was born in Portugal, but he makes the same statement about Christopher, and Bishop Giustiniani confirms his testimony. Indeed! Gallo has written, "Christoforus et Bartolomeus fratres natione ligures ac Genue",¹⁰ and Giustiniani says,

⁶ Deed establishing the entailed estate, Navarrete, II. 228, 232.

⁷ *Historie*, ch. v.

⁸ *Col. Doc. Ined.*, XVI. (Madrid, 1859), 455.

⁹ Gallo, in *Raccolta, Fonti*, II. 188.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

"Christofori Colum Genuensis".¹¹ If that be not sufficiently clear, so far as the younger brother of Columbus is concerned, we have his own declaration that he was a Genoese in verses he wrote upon a map he had made for King Henry VII., "Genua cui patria est."¹²

Among other contemporary writers who do not appear to have said that Columbus was a Genoese our authors boldly enlist the following:

Peter Martyr, who in one passage states that Columbus was a Ligurian, and further on makes this precise by writing he was "Genuensis";¹³ Las Casas, who records that Columbus was "Genovés de nación";¹⁴ Oviedo, who wrote, "fue natural de la provincia de Liguria, que es en Italia, en la qual cae la cibdad é señoría de Génova";¹⁵ and Geraldini, who was a patron of Columbus, and who describes him as an Italian by nationality and a Genoese of Liguria, "Genua Liguria".¹⁶

These are not the only witnesses. It may be said that the greater part if not all of the writers of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, who mention Columbus, consider him as being a Ligurian and Genoese. It is the same with modern authors whose opinions carry weight in this matter, and, as our authors are pleased to include HARRISSE and myself among them, I beg to state that I never wrote that Columbus "no había nacido en Genova". In full agreement with HARRISSE, I have said exactly the opposite.

The quaint manner of quoting the written opinions of authors is not the only strange thing characterizing these publications to which our attention is called with so great a din. For example, one ascertains with astonishment that critics who are anxious to correct the history of Columbus on an essential point are but ill informed upon a number of particulars in his life which are now thoroughly elucidated. Thus, they still believe that he was born in 1436, that he first went to sea when fourteen years old, that he sailed on every sea for a quarter of a century, that he commanded a galley for King René, that he appeared before the University of Salamanca, and other similar legends which modern research and criticism have long swept from the pages of history. On the other hand, they know nothing of facts established by the testimony of documents now at the command of every reader.

They tell us that Diego, Columbus's eldest son, could not have been born in Portugal inasmuch as he knew not where was buried

¹¹ *Raccolta, Fonti*, II. 345.

¹² Las Casas, I. 225.

¹³ Second decade, book VII.

¹⁴ I. 42.

¹⁵ Book II., ch. II.

¹⁶ *Itinerarium*, p. 302.

his mother, whom neither he nor his father has anywhere mentioned.¹⁷ Now Columbus has twice spoken of his wife: in a letter written at the end of 1500 and in his will.¹⁸ As to Diego, he states in his will that his mother is buried in the Carmelite Convent of Lisbon, and he expresses the wish that her remains be translated to Hispaniola.¹⁹

Their interpretation of a number of very simple facts is no less astonishing. All that they say about the *Santa Maria*, which Columbus calls the *Galega*, because she was built in Galicia, and about the names of Porto Santo, San Salvador, and Trinidad as coming from places so called in Pontevedra, lacks even common sense. The same may be said for their reasons why the name Hispaniola was conferred upon Haiti. According to them, Columbus chose this name because he was a Spaniard, otherwise, had he been an Italian or Genoese, he would have christened that isle *Italiana* or *Genovesa*!

Need we further quote among the proofs they adduce as to the Galician origin of Columbus that his real name was Colon, which is Spanish, and not Colombo, which is Italian; that in Portugal he passed himself off as being a Portuguese, and that finally those who say he was a Ligurian thereby admit he was a Spaniard, for Liguria is a synonym of Spanish origin!

One might criticize very many other remarkable statements in these publications wherein may be found at every page, so to speak, counterfeit assertions, false quotations, illogical deductions, and queer conjectures. But we have said enough to satisfy the reader that of all these authors who have written to establish that Columbus was a Galician of Hebrew origin, it is only necessary to retain the simple facts of the existence at Pontevedra in the fifteenth century of a Colon family of which several individuals bore the same forenames as did those of the Colombo family of Genoa, and of a Fonterosa family whose name recalls the family of the Discoverer's mother, which Fonterosa family was probably Jewish.

There is in reality nothing at all extraordinary about these facts. The Colons swarmed throughout the Latin countries. Among families of this name appear several Domenicos, several Bartolomeos, who were not of Genoa. Nor were Jewish Colons wanting in Spain. Three were burned in Taragona in 1489, that is in Columbus's own day, and it was possible for him to have witnessed their suffering. The Colons of Pontevedra were probably Israelites; but in order to see in them the Colons of Genoa it is necessary to distort well-known facts and falsify the evidence of contemporaries. It is the same

¹⁷ Horta y Pardo, pp. 45-46.

¹⁸ Navarrete, II, 255, 314.

¹⁹ His testament, in Harrisse, *Christophe Colomb*, II, 487.

with regard to the Fonterossa of Pontevedra in Galicia. Because several of them bore Biblical names and because the mother of Columbus was called Susanna Fontenarossa we are not entitled to conclude as to the identity of the two families, and consequently as to the Hebrew origin of our Columbus. The name Fontenarossa is purely Italian and we know whence it comes; it derives from the valley of Fontenarossa to the northeast of Genoa where still exists a considerable market town of the name, and from it came the mother of Columbus. As to her name of Susanna, many Christian women have borne it and many bear it still.

Doubtless, in any case, it will be thought these were very poor reasons for making a Jew of Columbus; but our authors give others. Thus, this great man wrote in a Biblical style; he was fond of quoting the prophets; by choice he preferred to read books that were either Biblical or of Jewish origin; he himself wrote a book of prophecies; his mystical signature seems to recall some Jewish doctrine; Giustiniani says he was born of plebeian parents, which signifies they were miserable and low! Columbus left a legacy to a Jew; Jews protected him; he was avaricious; he thought himself the messenger of Jehovah; finally, he had a fresh colored complexion, fair hair, and aquiline nose, characteristics, as all the world knows, of the Israelite type, and particularly of the southern Jews.

We have dwelt at some length on this singular thesis because it has taken so considerable a development that it was to be feared it might, from the force of bold repetition under different forms and in various languages, end in obtaining credit among those who were not well acquainted with the subject. We have thought it our duty to restore things to their places; but in doing so we have regretted to see a man of letters like Señor de la Riega compromise his fair literary reputation by such an excursion which he could have had no interest to undertake, for it is really difficult to understand the object of so noisy a campaign.

Is not the glory of Columbus exclusively Spanish? Was it not to Spain he carried his great designs? Was it not in Spain they were entertained, and was it not there that he was put into a position to carry them out? Was it not in Spain he founded a family, and had he not become so thoroughly Spanish as to lose the use of his own mother-tongue? What matter then whether he were born in Pontevedra or Genoa? Columbus, in whatever city he first saw the light of day, belongs to Spain and can be claimed by none but her. To her he owes what he was, and it is to him she is indebted for that New World whose existence he had divined, and in whose quest he went until he found and gave her to his adopted country.

HENRY VIGNAUD.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1812, 6:30 P. M.: THE BIRTH
OF A WORLD POWER¹

OF the short poems of Browning, one of the most inspiring is that entitled "Echetlos", published in the *Dramatic Idyls* of 1880—a lyric, by the way, with the existence of which, curiously enough, I have rarely found any Browningite acquainted. The first stanza of "Echetlos" I take for the text or legend of the paper I am about to submit. My paper it is true does not relate to the American Marathon, which, presumably, was Bunker Hill; but it does relate to another episode, not less dramatic and momentous, and more germane to the present occasion; for it occurred, startling the whole civilized world, in August 1812, just a century ago. Browning's invocation in "Echetlos" runs as follows:

"Here is a story, shall stir you! Stand up, Greeks dead and gone,
Who breasted, beat Barbarians, stemmed Persia rolling on,
Did the deed and saved the world, for the day was Marathon!"

The papers ordinarily read at the meetings of this Association, generally edifying and often instructive, sometimes even interesting, are rarely calculated to "stir". In this respect, what I am now about to submit will be exceptional. It is hardly less stirring than Browning's description of the

"tiller of the soil, with a clown's limbs broad and bare",
who at Marathon went "ploughing on and on".

"Did the steady phalanx falter? To the rescue, at the need,
The clown was ploughing Persia, clearing Greek earth of weed,
As he routed through the Sakian and rooted up the Mede."

But, poetry aside, coming to my theme, much has of late been said and written of the United States as a "world power"; and four years ago (1908) our associate, Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, published a most interesting and instructive volume with this as its title as well as thesis—a work of permanent historical value, which at the time attracted unusual attention and led to some controversy. I now go back of Professor Coolidge, and, so to speak, particularize. Indulging in some necessary but none the less interesting detail, I

¹ A paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Boston, December 31, 1912.

propose to specify the exact day of the year and month and week, the hour and almost the minute at which the United States blazed as an indisputable world power on the astonished, and, for some time yet, incredulous nations. To be specific, it was at thirty minutes after six o'clock of the afternoon of Wednesday, August 19, 1812. On that day and at that hour, just twenty weeks over a hundred years ago, this country, I confidently submit, became a nationality to be reckoned with; and such it has ever since been.

When the year 1812 came in, this country of ours, rated as a power of the third class—less considered, for instance, than Portugal, and more nearly on the level of Algiers—had for a score of years been the unresenting football of antagonists as overbearing as they were powerful. Long before, Shakespeare had caused Hamlet to observe:

" 'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes
Between the pass and fell-incensed points
Of mighty opposites ";

and of this the United States had long afforded mortifying illustration. With Napoleon and the country of Nelson and Wellington locked in a long death-grapple, the young American nation had thought to traffic on their fields of battle. Regardless of buffets and insults, it had done this systematically and as matter of policy. A people, no more than an individual, can pursue such a course in a pure spirit of gain, accepting kicks and cuffs as incident thereto, still preserving its manhood; and it must be admitted as historical truth that between 1801 and 1812 the people of the United States in general, and those of New England more especially, had lost all adequate sense of national pride.

This was during the two administrations of Jefferson and the first administration of Madison. Of that period and of what in it occurred, I personally, and those of my family, always speak under a certain sense of restraint. As Mr. Henry Adams found in writing his *History*, whatever of criticism he might feel compelled to make, however gently advanced, on the incidents and results of Jefferson's foreign policy, was attributed to an hereditary bias: and so dismissed from consideration. More than once such has been the case with me; and whenever I have in the course of inquiry felt forced, as a result of the best consideration I could give to what transpired during the presidential terms of either Thomas Jefferson or Andrew Jackson, to utter any criticism thereon, my remarks have been received with something closely resembling a look of amused understanding, and a perceptible but significant shrug. It was apparently deemed

quite impossible that one of my descent could weigh the incidents and significance of the periods in question in an unprejudiced and judicial spirit. It would doubtless prove so here and now. Without, therefore, myself expressing any conclusion upon the influence on American national character and bearing of the foreign policy pursued by the United States between 1801 and 1812, I shall content myself with quoting on that head the recently uttered judgment of a distinguished naval commander. In a paper read only two months ago before the Massachusetts Historical Society, Rear-Admiral French Ensor Chadwick thus spoke:²

Notwithstanding the evident necessity of at least protecting our merchantmen from seizure by corsairs and the saving of their crews from slavery, a navy was anathema to President Jefferson. In 1802 he proposed in his annual message "to add to our navy yard here [Washington] a dock within which our vessels may be laid up dry and under cover from the sun." In 1807 he could write to Paine, several months after the outrage of the firing by the *Leopard* upon the *Chesapeake*, that a navy was "a ruinous folly." . . . It was, except with reference to the Barbary Powers, an era of base submission to insult; our ships were being seized at the rate, for a long time, of three a day. All this would have been saved; and we should have escaped, too . . . the impressment from their ships of our seamen, at the rate of 1000 a year, the seizure of the ships themselves, and the brutal insult of the *Chesapeake* incident, if we had but followed the advice of Gallatin and Gouverneur Morris and built a fleet of battle-ships. And above all we should have saved our honor and self-respect. . . . I, for one, cannot read the story of the Jefferson and Madison administration without wrath in my heart and contempt in my mind for their so-called statesmanship . . . the twelve years of ignoble policy in the Jeffersonian period toward French spoliation and British arrogance.

Not without a secret consciousness at the time that all this was true, Americans during the period in question were accustomed to read of themselves in the columns of the English press as "spaniel-like in character", a people who "the more they were chastised the more obsequious they became"; and one, moreover, which "could not be kicked into a war". The frigates they had built under previous administrations were rotting at their moorings, being timorously regarded as mere incentives to an increased but ever more contemptuous spirit of foreign arrogance and aggression. They were scornfully referred to in the journals of the mother-country as "bundles of pine boards sailing under a bit of striped bunting". Submitting to it all, the confidence of the people in themselves was gone. They questioned their own man-to-man fighting capacity. By sufferance, they continued to exist.

Recalled through the century vista, the situation in 1812 was,

² *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLVI, 205-206.

withal, in every respect spectacular. Trafalgar was then seven years passed, and England during the period which followed Trafalgar was fairly drunk with consciousness of maritime power. Britannia did indeed then rule the wave. On the ocean, none questioned her supremacy; for, almost immemorially, hers had been a record of unbroken naval victory—victory on a scale both large and small. During twenty years of incessant conflict, numbering in them more than two hundred ship-to-ship encounters of approximately equal force, the cross of St. George had averaged but one defeat in every forty fights. Contemptuously ignoring all international rules of courtesy or conduct, she had made the United States gulp down the very dregs in the cup of humiliation; for, on June 22, 1807, in sight of the capes of Virginia, the unlucky *Chesapeake*, disgraced and degraded, had been compelled to drag her way, a battered, helpless hulk, back to the port from which she had the day before sailed with officers and crew smarting under a humiliation never either forgotten or forgiven. Unresistingly pounded into abject submission, her company had been mustered on her own deck by a British subaltern, and those whom he saw fit to designate had been taken forcibly from her.

That such an event could have occurred seems now incredible. The mere recollection of it a century later suffices to bring hot blood to the American face. It was as if an individual recalled, not a brutal blow once received but having been contemptuously dismissed with a kick or a cut from a horsewhip. And the curious and most ignominious feature of it, is to recall that at the time, in the places where men met in Boston, party spirit ran so strong and national pride had fallen so low that the outrage was excused and defended as within the right of the British admiral to order and a British captain to execute. An historic fact, such a statement challenges proof.³

The affair of the *Chesapeake* occurred in 1807. It was subsequently settled diplomatically after a fashion, and in a way little conducive to a restored American self-respect; and things then went on from bad to worse. The last dregs in the cup of humiliation remained to be swallowed. We gulped them down. Then, four years later, in 1811, occurred the affair of the frigate *President* and the corvette *Little Belt*. Numerically the armed ships of the United States were to those of Great Britain as one to a hundred; morally, they were as nothing. As was said at the time: "No one act of the little navy of the United States had been at all calculated to gain the respect of the British. First was seen the *Chesapeake* allowing herself to be beaten with impunity by a British ship only nominally superior to her. Then the huge frigate *President* attacks

³ *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLV. 355.

and fights for nearly three quarters of an hour the British sloop *Little Belt*", of only eighteen guns, and, it was claimed, had been beaten off by her. It was asserted also that those in command of the *President* had mistaken the sloop *Little Belt* for the frigate *Guerriere*; and because thereof, Captain Dacres of the *Guerriere* and his crew "felt the full passion and duty of revenge". In future there was to be no possibility of mistake; and so the *Guerriere* wore her name writ large on her fore-topsail. She hungered for a meeting with the *President*.⁴

And the day came when the frigate *Constitution* took upon herself the quarrel of her sister ship, and in her turn hungered for a meeting with the *Guerriere*. On August 19, 1812—fifteen months after the affair of the *Little Belt*—that hunger was appeased. The story of what then occurred, and where it occurred, is familiar; but it will bear repetition. Suffice it to say that on the 18th of June preceding war had at last been declared with Great Britain. Then followed an unbroken series of military disasters, culminating, in August, with the disgraceful surrender of Detroit and the destruction of Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands. Our entire Northwest was either in possession of the enemy or at his mercy. The cup of American humiliation, already it might have been thought drained, seemed inexhaustible—veritably another widow's cruse. The collapse was complete: and, where open panic did not prevail, utter discouragement was felt. In the midst of it all the *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull in command, on July 12 passed out of Chesapeake Bay, and into the midst of a British squadron. She eluded and outfooted them, her escape a marvel of maritime skill and sustained physical endurance; but during a part of that three-day ordeal the *Guerriere* was at the front, and pitted against her; nor did that fact pass unnoticed by watchful eyes on the escaping frigate. They would not then have dared to hope it, but a day of reckoning was at hand. July 26 Hull reached Boston. He then had reason to believe he was about to be called upon to turn his command over to another; but, first, he was in search of a fight. He knew his ship; he had tested his crew; he craved the square issue of battle. So, reporting his arrival, he did not linger, awaiting orders; but on August 2, turned the *Constitution's* prow seaward. The very next day the anticipated order came. Hull was relieved of his command; but, with that command, he was out of the way, headed for mid-Atlantic, hunting for an opponent. His ship's company shared his eagerness; from the youngest powder-monkey to the executive

⁴ Henry Adams, *United States*, VI. 36-37, 373; Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers*, pp. 209-242.

officer they were in the hunt; and when, at last, on the afternoon of Wednesday, August 19, the drums beat to quarters and the grim order came to clear decks for action, it was met with a ringing cheer. This was at 4 P. M. Two hours and a half later the *Guerriere* was rolling in the trough of the summer sea, a battered, sparless, foundering hulk. The next day she sank. She is there in mid-ocean now; not far from the spot where, a century later, the *Titanic* foundered.

The action occurred on Wednesday, the 19th; twelve days later, the morning of Monday, August 31, the Boston papers announced the bitter Detroit humiliation sustained under another Hull two weeks before; but in a different column of the same issue announcement was also made of that naval action which "however small the affair might appear on the general scale of the world's battles, raised the United States in one half hour to the rank of a first-class power in the world". The jealousy of the navy which had until then characterized the more recent national policy vanished forever "in the flash of Hull's first broadside". The victory, moreover, was most dramatic—a naval duel. The adversaries—not only commanders, but ship's companies to a man—had sought each other out for a test of seamanship, discipline, and gunnery—arrogance and the confidence of prestige on the one side, a passionate sense of wrong on the other. They had met in mid-Atlantic—frigate to frigate. On that August afternoon the wind was blowing fresh; a summer sea was running. For about an hour the antagonists manoeuvred for position, the British ship wearing from time to time to fire a broadside; and the American yawing to avoid being raked, and discharging an occasional shot from her bow guns. Finding that nothing was accomplished in this way, Hull wore around, set the main-topgallantsail, and headed directly for his enemy, who bore up with the wind, to meet him at close quarters. Both wanted to have the affair out.

Up to this time the greater part of the American crew had remained stationed at their quarters, impassive spectators; and even while they were running up alongside of the *Guerriere* the gunners stood with locked strings in their hands in silence awaiting the order to fire. To the men, both those handling the sails and those idle at the guns, the situation was trying; for they had been thus brought under a repeated fire without the excitement of striking back. There were of them those who were then killed beside their guns; and his executive officer importuned the American commander to begin the fighting. Hull restrained him; but the order came at last. The *Constitution* had then been worked into the exact position in which her commander wanted to get her. This was a few minutes before

six o'clock; and the historian, writing since, has recorded that now the two opponents "came together side by side, within pistol-shot, the wind almost astern, and running before it they pounded each other with all their strength. As rapidly as the guns could be worked, the *Constitution* poured in broadside after broadside, double-shotted with round and grape,—and, without exaggeration, the echo of those guns startled the world."⁶ Of her first broadside in that action, the master of an American brig, then a captive on board the British frigate, afterward wrote: "About six o'clock . . . I heard a tremendous explosion from the opposing frigate. The effect of her shot seemed to make the *Guerriere* reel, and tremble as though she had received the shock of an earthquake."⁷ That one retained broadside settled the business of the *Guerriere*. "In less than thirty minutes from the time we got alongside of the enemy", Captain Hull afterward reported to the Secretary of the Navy, "she was left without a spar standing, and the hull cut to pieces in such a manner as to make it difficult to keep her above water."

The historian has truly said of that conflict: "Isaac Hull was nephew to the unhappy General [who, three days before the *Constitution* overcame the *Guerriere*, had capitulated at Detroit], and perhaps the shattered hulk of the *Guerriere*, which the nephew left at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean eight hundred miles east of Boston, was worth for the moment the whole province which the uncle had lost, eight hundred miles to the westward. . . . No experience of history ever went to the heart of New England more directly than this victory, so peculiarly its own; but the delight was not confined to New England, and extreme though it seemed it was still not extravagant."⁸

The details of that memorable conflict are in every American history, and there is neither occasion nor time here to recount them. One incident is, however, less well known, and in these days of race feeling and negro burnings at the stake may well be recalled. The African race is, fortunately, not as a rule resentful; but it so chanced that of the four men forcibly taken by the *Leopard* from the *Chesapeake* in June, 1807, two were negroes, and of these one at least had subsequently, by sentence of a court-martial held at Halifax, been flogged well nigh to death. Shipped at Annapolis, the *Constitution* numbered in its crew others of the blood—black men, with woolly hair. Referring afterward to this fact and the conduct of those men, Hull, a rough, seafaring sailor of the period remarked: "I never

⁶ Henry Adams, *United States*, VI. 373.

⁷ Hollis, *The Frigate Constitution*, p. 169.

⁸ Henry Adams, *United States*, VI. 375, 376.

had any better fighters than those niggers,—they stripped to the waist, and fought like devils, sir, seeming to be utterly insensible to danger, and to be possessed with a determination to outfight the white sailors.”⁸ The cry that day was—“Remember the Chesapeake!” and, perhaps, those Maryland negroes, “stripped to the waist”, had it on their lips as well as in their hearts, as they worked the *Constitution’s* guns.

The action had occurred eight hundred miles east of Boston, about south of Cape Race, on the present steamship course to Southampton. Ten days later the anchor of the *Constitution* gripped bottom off Rainsford’s Island, at the entrance to Boston harbor. It was a David returning from combat with another Goliath. Probably in their day the astonished and delighted compatriots of the son of Jesse cheered to the echo their champion. The Bostonians certainly did so now; for, yesterday cowering, to-day they stood with heads erect. A deathly spell was dispelled. They, too, could fight! The 30th of August was the awakening day.

And yet on the morning of that August 30th the *Constitution* had occasion, in the famous figure of speech of George Canning, to “assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion”; to ruffle its swelling plumage; to put forth its beauty and its bravery; and, collecting its scattered elements of strength, to prepare again to “awaken its dormant thunder”. Fatigued beyond endurance by the strain and anxiety of the last fourteen days, believing himself and his ship at last in safety, Captain Isaac Hull had been suddenly roused from a deep sleep by the startling report that an armed squadron was at the harbor’s mouth, and bearing in upon him. Simultaneously weighing anchor and clearing decks for action, he boldly moved out to meet the danger; but, as the *Constitution* approached the leader of the advancing squadron, signals instead of shots were exchanged, and to Hull’s great relief he saluted the broad pennon of Commodore Rodgers, unexpectedly making port from a fruitless cruise.⁹

Not until Tuesday, September 1, did the *Constitution* find her way up above the Castle, as what was subsequently named Fort Independence was still called, to an anchorage in the inner harbor. Captain Hull then landed, and as he made a progress up State Street to the Exchange Coffee House—then Boston’s leading hostelry—the town went wild. Innumerable flags waved, a procession was formed, salutes were exchanged between the shore and the ships of

⁸ Quincy, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 264.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 262–263; Paullin, *Commodore John Rodgers*, p. 257.

war, and the intense feeling found utterance in every form of shouting and tumult. There was, too, sufficing occasion for it all. Its sense of self-respect had suddenly been restored to a people.

One word more and I am done. It relates to a family incident curiously and even pathetically illustrative of the depth of feeling and intense sense of relief which the twice-told tale I have here re-told, excited generally at the time. John Adams, retired from the presidency in 1801, was then passing the closing years of life at Quincy. To no one did the victory of the *Constitution* appeal more directly and for better reason, than to him. Under his guiding impulse the United States Navy—"Continental" it was then called—had thirty-seven years before come into existence.¹⁰ By his hand were drawn up the first rules for its government adopted by the Congress, November 28, 1775. The frigate *Constitution* itself was one of the small armament somewhat derisively referred to in those days as "John Adams's frigates", probably to distinguish them from his successor's armament of coast-defense gunboats. The *Constitution* had taken the water during the administration of the second President, and Isaac Hull's commission bore his signature. In John Adams's family in 1812 was a granddaughter, born in 1808, a little over four years before, and so still an infant.¹¹ More than ninety years later, one serene June afternoon in 1903, it devolved on me to sit by that granddaughter's parting bedside. A woman of four-score and fifteen, the lamp of life was flickering out. As she lay there in Quincy, dying in the house in which she had lived for nearly eighty years, I do not think she was conscious of my presence or of anything going on about her in that chamber of death, for as that day's sun went down she passed away. In those closing hours, however, one memory and only one seemed uppermost in her mind. In extremest old age her thoughts reverted to the first and deepest impression of her early childhood, and, over and over again, in a voice clear and distinct yet tremulous with emotion, she kept repeating these words: "Thank God for Hull's victory!"

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

¹⁰ See paper entitled "The American Navy and the Opinions of One of its Founders, John Adams, 1735-1825", by Capt. C. G. Calkins, U. S. N., *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, vol. 37, no. 2.

¹¹ Elizabeth Coombs Adams, a daughter of Thomas Boylston Adams, born February 9, 1808, died, June 13, 1903. Further indicative of the intensity of family feeling at the time aroused by the *Constitution-Guerriere* incident, a younger brother of Elizabeth C. Adams, born nine months later, May 26, 1813, was named Isaac Hull. He died at Quincy, October 5, 1910.

PROFITABLE FIELDS OF INVESTIGATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY, 1815-1860¹

THE principal subject which the student of this period of American history must appreciate is the development of a dominant interest, of a distinct civilization with definite ideals which was, like all other group evolutions, nationalist only in so far as the general government offered a guarantee of its existence and prosperity. This interest was the plantation system, based on negro slavery. Secured in their monopoly by the federal Constitution, the planters gradually conquered the lower South and the Mississippi Valley and set the standards for the progressive and accessible parts of the country. The planter was the perfect gentleman of his time and the plantation was the accepted economic and social model, not only for the South, but for most of the remainder of the United States.

The group which in any country produces the largest annual surplus is apt to draw to it other interests and thus determine the common policy. The plantation owners increased their exports alone from \$25,000,000 in 1815 to \$250,000,000 in 1860, which gave them almost twice as great an income as all other exporters combined. It was natural, therefore, that the commercial classes, which had played such an important rôle at the close of the French and Indian War and again during the Federalist supremacy, and was now a relatively decadent group, should ally itself with the planters both in economics and in politics.

On the other hand the interest which opposed the planters and which under the aegis of the corporation was to dominate the country after 1861 was engaged in manufacturing. The surplus of the manufacturers was not exported but was sold, in the main, to the planters. The manufacturers drew to themselves the owners of the surplus capital in the great towns and cities not engaged in commerce, particularly the banking interest, and the nature of their business made them the masters of many densely populated communities. This gave them a power in Congress next to that of the planters.

But the great majority of the people, not less than two-thirds of the total number, "the peasant proprietors", as they have been

¹ A paper read in a conference of students of American history at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston, December 30, 1912.

called, were not attached to either party. They occupied the remote areas and had no markets and hence no surplus crops or products of any kind. Their votes were sought by both of the powerful rival groups, though most blunderingly by the planters until about 1850.

Along the numerous river valleys of the West little communities of farmers became planters during the early years of our period and thus new forms and allies of the plantation came rapidly into existence; this applies to the region north of the Ohio as well as to that further south. The process gave assurance to the planter that he would control the coming nation and accordingly he and his allies were strongly nationalist. But the manufacturers held out to the inaccessible up-country the vision of home markets to be obtained through extensive internal improvements which the federal government was to construct. The money for this was to be collected from the planters by means of a high tariff, the indirect effect of which would be to give the manufacturers control of the rich and growing domestic market. The result of these proposals was a fierce conflict in Congress between the planters, who already enjoyed a monopoly by reason of the three-fifths rule of representation and the nature of their business, and the manufacturers, who were bent on obtaining one. The tariff was the bone of contention and the war continued from 1820 to 1846, when the planters won through the shrewd manoeuvres of Robert J. Walker in his famous revenue bill of the latter year. In this fight both contestants proclaimed the sacrosanct character of the federal Constitution, while neither cared anything for its provisions unless they could be made to cover the desired privilege.

Winning in the closely contested election of 1844, the planters went vigorously to work to conciliate the farmers of the upper West and the mountain regions and by a wise bargaining they secured that support which gave the history of the late forties and early fifties its strongly Southern stamp. The Polk administration thus appears to have been a much more important one than it has been thought. Under Polk and Robert Walker the Northwesterners were allowed the hotly desired expansion to the Pacific, the plantation masters extended their system to the Rio Grande, the commercial interests of the East were promised an ever-expanding market and the manufacturers were convinced that a moderate tariff to which all parties gave their approval would be better than an everlasting economic war.²

² A most important pamphlet bearing on these arrangements is that of Robert J. Walker, published January 8, 1844. It had a wide circulation and was the basis of the Baltimore Democratic platform and the most influential campaign document of the year.

Meanwhile the masses of the up-country people coming slowly into touch, through improved roadways, with the civilization of the time were giving up their repugnance to slavery and the aristocratic régime of which it was the basis; for wherever canals and railways went slavery, or at least sympathy with the South, followed; and where schools and newspapers were set up, save in a small section of the country, opposition to the "favorite institution" ceased.

Since the Polk administration proved to be a great clearing-house for the warring interests of all sections, it may be time for historical students to cease ridiculing its head as a "do-nothing" and unworthy President. Polk may have been gifted with talent in the arts of deception, as has been so frequently asserted, but other occupants of that high office have not been wholly destitute of abilities in this respect. While a good deal of work has been done of late years on the Tyler and Polk period, there remains yet much more that ought to be undertaken. Some of the attention which has gone to Jackson, "the boisterous", might well have been given to Polk, "the mendacious", for when it comes to measuring administrations few have accomplished so much that was of vital importance.

If one reviews the period from 1816 to 1846 it will be seen that the tariff, internal improvements, and a strong federal financial system composed the trio of nationalist policies which were always in mind and urged or resisted by the leading groups. The Jackson and Van Buren administrations only arrested progress along these lines, while Tyler marked time for nearly four years. Walker and Polk succeeded in committing the majority of the country, that is the South and West, to a new programme, that of radical territorial expansion in all possible directions, and this superseded definitely the older methods and purposes. There was no real break in the policy of succeeding administrations until 1861. Thus the régime of the despised Tennessee slave-owner assumes an importance which, though most if not all American historians have denied or overlooked the fact, must be recognized in the future. It is not the character of the President which interests the student but the schemes which he carries into effect.

There was, to be sure, a small segment of the country which was not satisfied in 1848, but that was not the reason why Taylor and the Whigs were returned to power. The great majority of the people were being "worked into shape" by the dominant Southern group, the anti-slavery agitation to the contrary notwithstanding. American society, following the universal rule, was reconciling itself to the view that all men are not equal. A most significant illustration of this is to be seen in the fact that free negroes in every South-

ern state were the owners of slaves and quite content with the system. As Mr. Rhodes says, the decade preceding the war showed in its earlier years every sign of a long course of development along the lines already marked out by the leaders. Business and transportation interests were in closer alliance with the South than had ever before been the case. Large corporations in the North were hiring and even owning slaves; and they defended slavery everywhere. It does not require a violent stretch of the historical imagination to foresee what would have been the course of corporation politics in the succeeding years if there had been no interruption in 1860.

This rapid crystallization of American life around the plantation and manor house—the realization of our first form of feudalism—was brought to a sudden halt, not so much by the Republican platform, or “human programme”, as by the will and ambition of a single man, Stephen A. Douglas, whom von Holst insisted upon calling Stephen “Arnold” Douglas. Just as Hamilton put Jefferson into the presidency by undermining the foundations of the Federalist party, so the “little giant” broke to pieces, both purposely and unintentionally, the settled programme of the time. If this be true a new study of the years preceding the first election of Lincoln might not be without its reward and it may yet be possible to add a life of Douglas to the famous *Statesmen* series.

But the majority of the people of the country were still rural and “small farmer” in character and they believed, perhaps not so great a proportion of them as in 1800, in the Declaration of Independence. Douglas’s break with his party in 1857 was an appeal to this powerful sentiment and Lincoln’s whole purpose was to rekindle the democratic flame; Lincoln and Douglas were too strong for the old order and it crumbled in spite of the popular acquiescence.

If this diagnosis be even “largely correct”, the student who desires to understand the epoch must place himself in another attitude from what has been customary and seek sources of information in other localities than the North and East. It will likewise be necessary to abandon the habit of determining who were saints or sinners, for all important leaders will appear so frequently in both rôles that discrimination will be more than difficult. The real historian, however, does not care a great deal whether a public man was right or wrong, nor does he turn readily to the use of epithets or strong adjectives.

After so long an introduction, it may be proper to come to the main purpose of the paper, which is to venture some suggestions as to certain lines of study that may not have been followed up by the

writers of American history. Beginning with the economic side of the subject, two of the most important studies that yet remain to be made are those of the tobacco and cotton planting industries, though it would be very difficult to gather the necessary information. The building of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in which Washington was so much interested, was a far-reaching undertaking which, notwithstanding it was never completed, ought to be studied. A good beginning might be made in a life of Charles Fenton Mercer, one of the ablest of the secondary leaders of the South. The James River and Kanawha Canal was equally important and its records, in the main unexplored, would tell a good deal of Virginia history. And while on the Old Dominion it may be well to call attention to William B. Giles, Thomas Ritchie,³ Littleton Tazewell, John Taylor, William C. Rives, John B. Floyd, sr., and Edmund Ruffin, as good opportunities for biographical studies.

The western parts of the Carolinas, like upper Virginia, were gradually drawn to the support of the low-country, or the cotton and tobacco belts, and consequently of slavery, through state systems of internal improvements, promised or executed, or through the steady encroachments of the cotton and tobacco planters upon the poorer, idealistic up-country. Of none of these have we adequate accounts, save in Professor Phillips's *Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt*. I know of no better way to clear up these subjects than through "lives" of such leaders as Archibald Murphey, Willie P. Mangum, and Thomas L. Clingman of North Carolina, and Thomas Cooper, Langdon Cheves, George McDuffie, and Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina. In the development of these undertakings and in the careers of these men one sees the "missionary" process of history as tier after tier of counties, at one time hostile to slavery and supposedly nationalist in character, join the standards of particularism.

In Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi the same evolution was taking place—the "black belt" expanding northward and southward, not westward in the same sense as in Virginia—and with the same results. Again one is tempted into the field of biography. George M. Troup, John Forsyth, George Poindexter, Howell Cobb, Joseph E. Brown, William L. Yancey, and Robert J. Walker offer the same kind of opportunities as have been suggested in the leaders of the older South. The railway problem in this region was that of connecting the upper cotton counties with the Tennessee and Mississippi

³ Professor D. R. Anderson, of Richmond College, has finished a life of Giles; and Professor C. H. Ambler, of Randolph-Macon, has likewise completed his life of Ritchie, both of which will probably be published during the coming year.

rivers in such a way as to bring the small farmers of the up-country to market and make of them great planters who would at once understand slavery and its aristocratic flower and attach themselves to the "black belt". The story of the railway and transportation schemes of Alabama and Mississippi, of the Memphis convention of 1845, at which Calhoun announced his second change of heart on the policy of internal improvements, would aid in the understanding of the lower South at its most important stage.

Closely associated with these economic and political developments is the subject of sectionalism in Louisiana and Mississippi. In the former the conflict of New Orleans and its commercial affairs with the cotton planters of the middle and upper parts of the state gives occasion for another such work as that of Schaper on South Carolina or Ambler on Virginia. And in Mississippi there is the most promising opportunity for a study of conflicting groups and rival sections in the working out of a large community life. The parallels here on the lower Mississippi to the conditions of Virginia and South Carolina are varied mainly because of the hastening effect of an insatiable demand for cotton.

Texas and the Mexican War are already under the historical microscope of Professor Justin H. Smith and it will suffice if this paper merely calls attention to the importance of studying the Polk administration on the domestic side and especially of viewing its acts as concrete performances and not as occasions for the manifestation of one's moral indignation. In Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri, however, there are many openings, not as yet peered into, for the pens of those who will go into the local libraries and private collections. Perhaps western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, an isolated region holding fast to the ideals of the Southern up-country of Jefferson's day even as late as 1860, would make an excellent beginning; but since the annals of the poor are both short and simple, it might be very difficult to find materials adequate to the telling of the story. Parson Brownlow and Andrew Johnson⁴ were the principal men of this section who were important and active during the period of 1844 to 1860. The antebellum career of Johnson would serve to illustrate the growth and ideals of this part of the older West.

Middle Tennessee and the Blue Grass counties of Kentucky ran similar courses, and their history is fairly well known through the "lives" of Jackson and Clay; but so much attention has been devoted to personalities and to the things which had no existence in connec-

⁴ Professor St. George L. Sioussat has in preparation a life of Andrew Johnson which, it is understood, Messrs. Jacobs will bring out next year.

tion with these knight-errants of opposite camps, that it would profit us much to seek out the careers of the more prosaic statesmen of the older Southwest: Hugh Lawson White, Felix Grundy, John Bell, John J. Crittenden, John C. Breckinridge, and the picturesque Richard M. Johnson. This area of Jackson and Clay was the connecting link between the Ohio Valley and the lower South and consequently the building and the influence of what is now the Louisville and Nashville railway might properly be made the subject of a special monograph. Members of more than one cabinet, there is reason to believe, were the spokesmen of this interest in public life and most of the leaders of the region were its allies.

The western strip of Kentucky and Tennessee came into full economic relations with Memphis, the Gulf ports, St. Louis and Chicago through Stephen A. Douglas's Mobile and Ohio, and Illinois Central systems which were the greatest "log-rolling and pork-barrel" schemes of the time. Mobile, Chicago, and eastern capitalists and promoters as well as the cotton planters of the lower South and the grain and cattle farmers of the Northwest were directly concerned, and the possession of Cuba and the building of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama were integral parts of the undertaking.

Arkansas was a fairly simple social and economic unit during our period, but Missouri developed under the aegis of Thomas H. Benton two distinct groups, which fact seems to have been known to Calhoun even before it was understood by "Old Bullion" himself. The outcome of the long contest begun there in 1847 has been regarded as of the utmost importance in the maintenance of the nationality of the United States. Enough has been brought to light in the *Polk Diary* to suggest that the accepted view of the matter may be untenable and that a new study of Benton, of the Missouri industrial and railroad interests, and especially of Benton's Greek gift to the young Republicans in the Frémont candidacy might yield surprising results.

In the old Northwest the most promising "lead" would seem to offer in the slavery problem, for despite the sacred ordinance of 1787 negro slavery was long a practical if not important fact in every state of that section and "the institution" itself was not so unpopular there in 1860 as has been supposed. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa were slow indeed to give up the idea that well-to-do men of their region should not be allowed to own their servants like real gentlemen, and it was not Southerners or men of Southern descent who were alone responsible for this persistent notion. All these communities, but especially Indiana and Illinois, present sec-

tional problems very much like those of Virginia and South Carolina. Without an acknowledged slavery system and without any great staple crops, before the late fifties, these states developed the more prosperous and the less prosperous groups, separated geographically very much as had been the case in the South. It was always the prosperous who favored the fixed order including slavery; and the unprosperous, or rather the less prosperous, who, calling themselves "progressives", but considered "radicals" by their opponents, cried out against the iniquities of "human slavery". Illinois above all other communities in the Northwest requires to be studied "sectionally".

Professor Allen Johnson has given us a masterly and sharply analytical *Life of Douglas* which renders superfluous another political study of the "little giant"; but there is still room for a close scrutiny of that versatile statesman as an industrial leader, perhaps along lines recently suggested by Professor Hodder in a paper read before the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is not at all improbable that we shall soon see that a good deal of the pure villainy of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was only a piece of "big business" for which Chicago capitalists were as much responsible as the ambitious senator himself. And in the same connection it ought to be remembered that the history of the Illinois Central railroad has never yet been attempted. There are rich files of papers and collections of manuscripts in Chicago awaiting the right man. Such a work would certainly change some "fixed opinions" of American history for the years just preceding the war.

The Pierce and Buchanan régime was but a continuation of the Polk administration and a renewal of the understanding of the South and the West, that is, of the policy of national development and expansion, both territorial and commercial; and a good part of the thought and planning of the so-called Southern Congresses of 1853 to 1859 were directed at the realization of these purposes. Possibly these assemblies might, if investigated closely, shed some light upon a number of questions bearing upon the events of this decade. The planter class spoke in these bodies and the social ideals as well as the social statcraft of the masterful "old Southerner" came to full view. Railway building, textile industries, the expansion of slavery and the reduction of the cost of negroes, an efficiency programme, a possible protective system for Southern enterprises and education, common school and collegiate education, all received serious and even prophetic attention. A "sociology for the South" and commissions for the study of the relations of the community to the dependent classes were products of these gatherings which re-

ceived thoughtful consideration from Thomas Carlyle and even from the greater New England colleges.

A still more enticing, if somewhat more difficult, field is that of absentee landlordism in the South, a sort of parallel to the present-day bondholder class; and not a few men who lived in the cities of the North were absentee landlords of the South. County records, especially wills, marriage agreements, and inventories, as well as the family and local histories, would be the principal sources. The interstate slave-trade, amounting to many millions annually, has not received serious treatment; for this the material lies ready to hand in the advertisements and the news columns of the papers of the day, though the census returns could not be overlooked. In this connection I may revert once more to the interesting fact that 18,000 slaves were the property of negro masters who had won their freedom and then invested in the best paying property of the time.⁵ William Lloyd Garrison is said to have been greatly surprised when, on the occasion of a visit to South Carolina at the close of the war, he felicitated a negro acquaintance in Charleston upon the happy effects of universal emancipation and received the reply: "What, me happy at de freein' o' my niggers!"

One sees here, as in much else that has been said, a close parallel to the feudalism of Europe, which grew in, out, up, and down all at the same time; and one might be led from the fact of negroes owning negro slaves to an examination of Southern society in the narrower sense—society much talked about and much be-written, but certainly not as yet made to live again either in novel or sober history. It has more than once been suggested that the fall of the Confederacy was due in considerable measure to the hostility of certain great, aristocratic clans whose leaders held high places in the army and in Congress.

In religious and social history not much work of a strictly scientific character has, I believe, been done. It has been the custom to assume that the churches of the East and North, not to mention the South, contributed substantially to the success of the cause which we are prone to call nationalist in the period of 1815 to 1860. It may be risky to lay down any thesis in a paper like this, but a somewhat thorough study of some of the leading Protestant churches compels the view that this was not the fact. Religious people are apt to be of the conservative party at any given crisis; and it is everywhere acknowledged that the abolitionists were at a disadvantage in their long fight against slavery because they were without the pale of the

⁵ *The Popular Science Monthly* of November, 1912, contains a most enlightening study of this subject by Mr. Calvin Dill Wilson.

orthodox churches. They were gradually driven by the attitude of the religious and the social elements of the North into a position of hostility toward the churches and even toward nationalism itself.

In the colonial period the established church of the Southern communities and the official denominations of the Middle and Eastern colonies were troubled with the question of whether "the gospel made men free", especially negro men. Wise legal authorities in England decreed, somewhat after the manner of Taney at a later period, that baptism could not change the status of people before the law.⁶ Henceforth the clergy were free to preach the gospel to slaves. The older churches came, therefore, to justify and defend slavery and in many instances local churches owned and "hired out" negroes for the support of their pastors and school teachers. From 1750 to 1860 the Episcopalians, the successors of the established church, found nothing amiss in the plantation system. The history of this denomination is, therefore, of less interest to our epoch because there was no internal struggle, though the "lives" of certain of their clergymen, like Bishops Madison, Johns, Manning, and Green would undoubtedly aid in the understanding of the social order in which they were important factors.

But the younger or "new side" Presbyterians who established the College of New Jersey, about the year 1745, thought that the gospel did make men free; and before the Revolution their clergy—missionaries of a new faith—mobilized the Southern up-country in the cause of freedom and equal opportunity for all men, especially poor men. A decided change came, about 1800 to 1810, when the Presbyterian clergy, and a little later Princeton College, became bulwarks of conservatism and sturdy defenders of the plantation civilization. Before 1860, the victory was absolute and great divines of this denomination, North as well as South, were the most ardent protagonists of slavery, of the feudal system which had grown so rapidly during the half-century under consideration.⁷ The student of local religious sources almost sees the process, as community after community changes from anti-slavery and "idealistic" to pro-slavery and "practical", the cause of the change being in every case the growth of wealth and the introduction of new comforts. A poor church in 1800 was anti-slavery and very simple in its service; the same church was composed of well-to-do members in 1850 and it was naturally pro-slavery and formal in its order of worship.

⁶ Yorke, attorney-general, and Talbot, solicitor-general of England; see Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I. 185, and note, pp. 185-186.

⁷ One is reminded of Professor Charles Hodge of Princeton, Henry Van Dyke of Brooklyn, and Nathan L. Rice of Chicago, and still others whose names need not here be listed.

This subject might be worked out from the records of the churches, from the discussions of the national gatherings and particularly in the "lives" of certain preachers, more powerful in many ways than political leaders of whom we already know more than it is necessary to know. Moses Hoge, of Virginia, John H. Thornwell, of South Carolina, B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans, Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and Nathan L. Rice, of Chicago, come readily to mind as offering the best of opportunities for doctoral dissertations, provided the student is required to give due setting and background to his subject in each case.

The Baptists and Methodists were at the beginning of our epoch still poor, "small farmer" in their sympathies, and of course hostile to the easy-going, wealthy, and educated plantation masters. But they were not averse to winning converts among slaveholders, particularly the smaller ones to whom their preachers had access. As these became great planters under the stimulus of cotton and tobacco growing they became the more powerful element in the churches, and everybody was influenced by their opinions. What the planter's daughter wore at the service was almost as important a matter as what the preacher said in the pulpit and it sometimes had more influence in shaping the character of the local membership. The preacher ceased to denounce as idolaters those who wore "fine raiment and costly jewels" or at most his successor ceased thus to offend. Under the stimulus of such influences the leadership of the Baptists and Methodists followed inevitably the course already marked out by the economic conditions, the course which the Presbyterians had already taken. The penetration of the remote Baptist and Methodist neighborhoods by turnpikes and railways, the building of new churches and better schools, brought these simple people, or at least their children, into touch with the better manners and the higher culture of the planters and they surrendered. Before the middle of the century both of these denominations in the Southern up-country and the West, except the Connecticut Reserve, a part of Michigan, and a group of counties in northern Illinois and southeastern Wisconsin, already firmly attached by long custom and older ideals to New England, were in full sympathy with the plantation system. It is true that a break in the ranks of these churches had come in 1844-1845 and the northern wings had gone their own way; but there immediately followed a mild reaction and as the years wore on the extreme anti-slavery element lost ground. Under the "good times" of the late forties and early fifties so many men became well-to-do or were carried into the railway and industrial movements of the Northwest that even the most democratic of the relig-

ious denominations ceased to think of slavery as a very great evil and the preachers and religious newspapers found good Bible authority for the "favorite institution" of the South.

The history of this evolution would be worth tracing through the many sources "tucked away" in the libraries of denominational colleges, in the files of religious journals, and in the diaries of the leading ministers. Some of the more important biographies of the religious leaders which might be of real service to general American history would be those of J. B. Jeter, James B. Taylor, and William A. Smith, of Virginia, Richard Fuller, James P. Boyce, and Bishop Capers, of South Carolina, Bishop Pierce, of Georgia, John M. Manly, of Alabama, Bishop Greene, of Tennessee, Bishop Bascom, of Kentucky, John M. Peck and Peter Cartwright, of Illinois, Bishop Soule, of Ohio, the redoubtable Henry Clay Dean, of Iowa, and, perhaps most important of all, Bishop Asbury, of no particular locality.

In the careers of these men and in the various denominational movements, such as the building of colleges, first by the Presbyterians and later by the other churches, the sending of missionaries to foreign lands and to the "destitute" portions of the United States, the separation of Church and State and the relations of masters and servants, the student will find much that is important, much that will tend to change some "settled convictions". And in the "revivals" there was often not a little that is of historic significance, while in the steady growth of the idea of regularity and orthodoxy one has the evidence of the crystallization of society around certain notions as fundamental. This can nowhere be studied to better advantage than in South Carolina and in the life of Thomas Cooper, John Adams's "learned mad-cap", who was long the president of South Carolina College and who was removed from office because of his exercise of the so-called right of freedom of speech. In fact one can hardly enter this field at any point without coming face to face with important social and cultural changes which challenge interest and attention.

Professor Jameson in his presidential address before this Association at its Madison meeting showed how rich and how promising is this subject and so I have only to reiterate his statement and add whatever emphasis I can to his suggestions. The best collections of material that come readily to mind are those of the Episcopalians at Alexandria, Virginia, of the Presbyterians at Philadelphia and Columbia, South Carolina, of the Baptists, at Brown University, in New York City, and at the Louisville Theological Seminary, and of the Methodists at Wesleyan, Northwestern, and Vanderbilt uni-

versities. Doubtless there are other places where the necessary data might be found by the diligent worker.

It was the irony of history that the Quakers, who emigrated from the South in order to free themselves from the taint of slavery, should fall into sharp conflict as to their attitude on the subject in their new northwestern homes. But such is the fact and the proceedings of the Indiana Yearly Meeting are a good illustration of the point. The problem was with them the same social one it had been to the Baptists and others. When their leading members became wealthy, or relatively so, the older intense moral conviction weakened gradually and the majority grew "weary of well-doing" and refused to receive runaway negroes into their homes and they too voted the conservative ticket in the last decade of our period. Of the Catholics and other lesser denominations it is hardly necessary to speak in a cursory examination like this. Suffice it to say, a close and scientific study of the religious development of the United States for the period of 1815 to 1860 would probably change some of the important pages of history.

To conclude this rather tedious paper, it may not be improper to suggest that if the field were clear and a new history of the epoch of 1815 to 1860 were to be written, it would scarcely be sufficient to base the account of the Jefferson régime, as Henry Adams has done, mainly upon the diplomatic sources; for from this particular angle the Virginia Dynasty appears to greatest disadvantage. By this it is not meant that Henry Adams is not fair or that his work is merely a history of American diplomacy; but that the sources upon which he has drawn and relied almost exclusively do not cover the field. Virginia and the up-country were then in power, yet Adams shows no sympathy for nor familiarity with the life of the people of those regions save as it was illustrated in a few leaders who lived in Washington. Richmond was, I believe, in 1800 the second publishing centre in the country, but little of this literature seems to have been consulted. It does not appear from the pages of this greatest of our historians that the party which supported Jefferson was anything but a majority of the Southern gentry who had by some means overthrown the Federalist gentry. The fact was that the wealthy classes of the South felt as contemptuously toward the "demagogue" who led the "rabble" to victory in that year as did the representatives of the Essex junto. The student who kept this in mind could not misunderstand the ready resort of the administration to the Northern democracy for support in 1805 and 1806. The life-work of the faithful democrat of the "little mountain" was always with and for the common man, the small farmer

and the smaller artisan, and their life and testimony must enter into any adequate narrative of the career of their hero or of the history of the time.

Nor would the "new historian", if one may safely use the term, recount the events of 1815 to 1860, as Professor McMaster has done, in the language of Middle State sources and the Congressional debates. In McMaster we have a great mass of testimony and a good deal of clever paraphrase for all sections of the country, but the emphasis is placed on industrial events and industrial conditions. Nor is there a real analysis of the parties and programmes, such for example as that embraced in the so-called American system of Henry Clay. A work which portrays the life of the American people must devote more space and more intelligent and more sympathetic attention to the needs and conditions of the debtor regions of the country—the West and the South. Perhaps it will not be regarded as a near approach to a counsel of perfection to say that the historian must visit many localities and know all classes of people in order to understand the social strata and changes which it is his duty to describe; for instance, no one can appreciate Stephen A. Douglas or Henry Clay as great forces in American public life without first knowing the people of Illinois and Kentucky and the antagonistic interests contending in those states for supremacy during our period.

Neither McMaster nor Schouler, the next of our important historians, makes any serious effort to portray the changes in social ideals as shown forth in the religious evolution of the country. They accept certain things as categorical and then proceed to describe the perverse and stubborn generation which bound itself fast to the dead body of negro slavery and then plunged into an ocean of revolution and civil war carrying the rest of the nation with it. Lincoln, the politician, was more of a philosopher and he manifested more of the mind of the historian when he declared in the address at Peoria in 1854: "They [the Southerners] are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself".* If our best historians had travelled widely and had consulted local source-materials and especially had they looked somewhat into the religious history of the people in the great sections of the country their narratives would have been far more satisfying and their judgments, expressed or implied, would have been more likely to stand the test of the years.

The abolitionists filled a large space in the records of the time,

* Miss Ida M. Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, I. 283.

but their actual influence was as that of a single "righteous man" in a world of wickedness, and in the "new history" which would treat of actual forces, social, economic, and political, they could not loom so large as Schouler and von Holst, whose history of the United States is still further from the realities of American life, thought they did when they wrote. The prominence and the activity of the abolitionists were great and the effect of their work was far-reaching; but they were in no sense one of the great forces which shaped the national destiny. Their existence showed that the religious teachers and organized Christianity had failed of their mission. The abolitionists were anti-nationalist and their spokesmen would have brought about a Northern secession but for the stronger economic and social influences which opposed them.

To come back to the point whence we started, the period from 1815 to 1860 was an era in which two or three powerful economic groups fought out a bitter struggle for the mastery, and the plantation owners won between 1844 and 1852, and it seemed that their slow-developing feudalism was to continue, drawing to itself the "big business" of the East and the transportation interests of the West, for an indefinite time. But over-confidence and abuse of their position and power drove men who had believed in a simpler democratic life away from their standards and gave opportunity for the industrial interests, never quite reconciled to a free-trade policy, and the ever-hostile New England group to bring about a political revolution like that which Jefferson led in 1800. The history of the Civil War and the period immediately following is proof enough that the successors of the opponents of Calhoun and Hayne, and not idealistic reformers, had come to power as protagonists of nationalism, but a nationalism which first of all "took care" of their economic interests.

It may be the merest commonplace to say so in this presence, but I risk the statement that one might expect from such a history as ought to be written, one in which all the people of the country, all the groups of the self-seeking classes, all the important official acts of responsible leaders would have their due place, a broad and catholic spirit which condemns no great community as hopelessly bad and which would see in all important groups some large social and political causes. Such a history would award as high honors to Calhoun as to Webster, to Jefferson Davis as to Charles Sumner, and on its pages public men might learn lessons which it might be well for them to heed if they value the verdicts of the future.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

DOCUMENTS

Correspondence of the Russian Ministers in Washington, 1818-1825, II.

THE papers in the present installment are of less interest than those in the first, partly because of the transfer to St. Petersburg of the negotiations respecting our northwest coast, partly because two of the most interesting of the despatches of Tuyll to Nesselrode, and one of the most interesting of Nesselrode to Tuyll, are already in print (and are not here repeated), indeed are not in the collection of transcripts received from St. Petersburg, and seem not to be in the archives of the Russian embassy at Washington.¹ On the other hand, Tuyll's despatches in some cases have a heightened interest on account of the gaps which just at this period are found in the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.

XVII. ELLISEN² TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, ce 1/13 Décembre 1822.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte,

Immédiatement après la réception des ordres, renfermés dans les dépêches de Votre Excellence du 24 Avril et du 1/13 Juillet dernier,³ que Mr. le Général Baron de Tuyll m'a fait parvenir par la voie de New York avec le double acte de ratification de la convention conclue à St.-Petersbourg le 30 Juin/12 Juillet cette année,⁴ je me suis empressé de m'acquitter auprès du Gouvernement des Etats Unis d'Amérique des communications, dont je me trouvais chargé par suite des circonstances, qui ont empêché le Ministre de Sa Majesté L'Empereur de continuer son voyage en Amérique.

Ayant informé Mr. Adams que le Ministre Imperial m'avait prescrit de procéder à l'échange des deux instruments de ratification, revêtus de

¹ See pp. 549, 550, notes 28, 31, *infra*.

² Chargé d'affaires between the departure of Polética and the arrival of Tuyll, April 24, 1822-April 19, 1823.

³ No. XV., pp. 335-344, *supra*.

⁴ The convention between the United States and Great Britain for indemnity for slaves carried away at the end of the War of 1812; see p. 343, *supra*. It was concluded at St. Petersburg July 12, 1822, under the mediation of the Emperor Alexander I.; ratifications were exchanged January 10, 1823. Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, etc.*, I. 634-638. Article VIII., referred to below, concerned the method of ratification. The dates in these foot-notes, when not given in the double form, are new-style dates.

la signature de Sa Majesté L'Empereur contre les ratifications du Gouvernement Américain et contre celle de la Grande Bretagne, d'après la teneur de l'article VIII de la dite convention, le Secrétaire d'Etat Américain a répondu à cette communication par la note, que j'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-joint à Votre Excellence.

Dans un entretien que j'ai eu depuis avec Mr. Adams, ce Ministre m'a répété, que la convention de St.-Petersbourg ne tarderait pas à être discutée au Sénat des Etats Unis pour en obtenir la sanction constitutionnelle et pour être soumise subséquemment à la ratification du Président. Il ajouta, que le Ministre d'Angleterre à Washington n'avait point encore reçu de son Gouvernement les ratifications de cette convention.

On suppose que Mr. Addington,⁵ nommé Secrétaire de la Légation d'Angleterre aux Etats Unis d'Amérique, est chargé de porter à Washington les dites ratifications.

D'après nos nouvelles dernières d'Europe cet employé devait partir de Falmouth par le paquebot anglais du 16 Octobre n. st. qui jusqu'à présent n'est point encore arrivé à New-York.

Je ne saurais terminer ce rapport sans rendre compte à Votre Excellence de la satisfaction générale, que l'arbitrage émis à cette occasion par Sa Majesté L'Empereur a produite aux Etats Unis, et j'ai pu me persuader de la reconnaissance avec laquelle le peuple américain apprécie cette nouvelle preuve de la justice Impériale, qui caractérise toutes les décisions de notre Auguste Souverain.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus grande considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

GEORGE ELLISEN.

XVIII. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.⁶

Monsieur le Baron,

Je me suis empressé de mettre sous les yeux de L'Empereur, les dépêches que Vous avez confiées à Mr. Wallenstein, mais les travaux du Congrès⁷ ne m'ont pas permis de Vous faire connoître plutôt les intentions de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Sans contester une apparence de plausibilité aux motifs, pour lesquels Vous avez résolu d'attendre à Liverpool des instructions supplémentaires relativement à la négociation que Vous étiez chargé d'ouvrir avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, je ne saurois Vous dissimuler, Monsieur le Baron, qu'en poursuivant Votre voyage et en Vous bornant à l'exécution littérale des ordres antérieurs de Sa Majesté, Vous auriez mieux rempli Ses désirs et plus complètement justifié Son attente.

Les instructions qui Vous ont été données sous la date du 13 juillet⁸ devoient Vous placer, dès Votre arrivée à Washington, dans une posi-

⁵ Henry Unwin Addington, nephew of Lord Sidmouth, had been secretary of legation to Stratford Canning during the latter's diplomatic service in Switzerland, 1814-1819, and was now coming out to be his secretary at Washington, and, as it proved, to be chargé d'affaires after Canning's departure in the summer of 1823.

⁶ Apparently still at Liverpool.

⁷ The Congress of Verona, October-December 14, 1822. The czar and Nesselrode both attended it.

⁸ No. XV.

tion simple, facile, honorable et avantageuse. Il s'étoit élevé un différend entre les Etats-Unis et la Russie. Vous deviez déclarer en remettant Vos lettres de créance, que Votre mission étoit de l'applanir. Nous craignons, et les Etats-Unis partageoient sans doute nos inquiétudes, que des voyes de fait entre les vaisseaux des deux Puissances ne vinssent compliquer ces fâcheuses discussions. Vous étiez chargé d'annoncer, qu'au moyen des ordres provisoires donnés par Sa Majesté Impériale, de telles appréhensions ne pouvoient plus subsister. Enfin les Etats-Unis nous avoient témoigné, il y a six ans, le désir de fixer par une négociation amicale, des limites précises entre leurs possessions et les nôtres sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique; Vous deviez informer le Gouvernement Américain, que nous étions prêts à négocier avec lui sur la base des convenances réciproques, et que même les mesures de douane et de surveillance qui seroient adoptées dans nos Colonies, perdroient beaucoup de la rigueur dont on s'étoit plaint, si des entreprises hautement condamnées par le droit des gens, ne nous obligeoient de revenir au système des précautions sévères et des défenses absolues.

Ce n'étoit pas peu de chose que d'acquiescer aux yeux du Gouvernement Américain le mérite d'avoir fait une pareille déclaration. Vos relations futures avec le Cabinet de Washington devoient nécessairement y gagner, et le préjugé favorable qui se seroit attaché dès lors à toute proposition venant de Votre part Vous eût peut-être facilité plus d'un succès.

Sans doute la négociation de limites que Vous aviez à conduire, ne regardoit pas seulement le Gouvernement Américain, puisque, d'après des notions récentes et dignes de foi, nos établissemens sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique sont très rapprochés d'établissemens Anglois, et qu'aux termes d'une Convention conclue en 1818, des Territoires qui touchent probablement aux nôtres, doivent appartenir en commun, pendant dix ans, à l'Angleterre et aux Etats Unis. J'avouerai encore que dans toutes les hypothèses, Vous n'auriez pas obtenu sans peine du Cabinet de Washington les garanties que nous désirions contre les entreprises des aventuriers qui troublent la paix des contrées où la Russie exerce les droits les plus incontestables; mais Vos instructions, Monsieur le Baron, loin de Vous fixer un terme pour stipuler un arrangement, soit définitif soit provisoire, avec les Etats-Unis, Vous laissoient sous ce rapport une grande latitude et Vous invitoient même à ne rien conclure avant d'avoir reçu des informations complémentaires. Ainsi, Votre première déclaration faite, Vous pouviez tranquillement attendre que le Gouvernement d'Amérique donnât suite à Vos ouvertures. S'il tardoit à Vous adresser des propositions relatives aux limites territoriales, ou à la navigation des mers qui baignent la côte N. O. du Continent Américain, Vous n'auriez compromis aucun intérêt en laissant subsister un *status quo de fait*, que les derniers ordres envoyés à ceux des vaisseaux de Sa Majesté Impériale qui croisent dans les parages de la côte N. O. ne permettoient plus de regarder comme pouvant faire naître des conflits et des discussions nouvelles. Si au contraire, le Cabinet de Washington Vous avoit proposé sans délai, des arrangemens définitifs, si les négociations s'étoient ouvertes, il Vous eût été facile d'employer les judicieuses remarques que Vous exposez dans Votre dépêche principale, pour établir nos droits au moins jusqu'au 55. degré, facile même d'avouer franchement, s'il le falloit, avant de convenir d'une limite quelconque, qu'il Vous seroit envoyé à cet égard des instructions ultérieures. Ce témoignage de loyauté aurait achevé de convaincre les Etats-Unis, que

L'Empereur veut ajuster tous Ses différends avec eux par des stipulations tellement claires et tellement positives qu'aucun doute ne puisse occasionner le retour des explications précédentes.

D'ailleurs, Monsieur le Baron, deux autres objets réclamoient Vos soins et toute Votre attention.

Je vous avois transmis l'instrument de la ratification d'un Traité qui peut Vous placer dans le cas d'interposer Votre arbitrage entre le Commissaire Anglais et le Commissaire Américain que leurs gouvernemens respectifs chargeront de fixer la valeur moyenne des esclaves à l'époque de la conclusion du Traité de Gand. Ce Traité est probablement déjà ratifié par la Grande-Bretagne et par les Etats Unis.* L'intervention du Représentant de Sa Majesté Impériale peut donc être demandée d'un moment à l'autre. Votre prudence et Vos lumières offriront en pareille occasion des garanties auxquelles on est en droit d'attacher une juste importance, tandis qu'en accordant à Mr. d'Elisen beaucoup de qualités recommandables, on peut néanmoins craindre qu'à son âge, et vu la nature des fonctions qu'il a remplies jusqu'à ce jour, il ne possède point encore la maturité de jugement et l'expérience que requiert l'office difficile et délicat d'arbitre.

Une autre question d'un intérêt bien plus grave, et dont Vous parliez mes dépêches du 13 Juillet, étoit celle de l'indépendance reconnue par le Congrès Américain, des anciennes colonies Espagnoles. Vous étiez invité, Monsieur le Baron, à représenter au Cabinet de Washington, que sans prétendre juger des motifs qui l'avoient porté à cette détermination, L'Empereur désirait, par un sentiment naturel de justice et de bienveillance, qu'elle ne servit point à aggraver les malheurs déjà trop réels de l'Espagne, et que dans le cas où cette Puissance essayeroit de tirer de ses droits sur une grande partie du Sud de l'Amérique quelques avantages politiques et commerciaux que semblent lui promettre un foible reste d'autorité et le besoin d'une sanction solennelle que de pareils événemens laissent toujours après eux, même lorsqu'ils sont couronnés de succès, les Etats-Unis ne prissent aucune mesure pour empêcher l'Espagne d'obtenir ces dernières compensations de la perte d'un monde tout entier.

Plus l'Espagne est malheureuse aujourd'hui, plus L'Empereur, d'après les principes qui ne cesseront de Le diriger, sent de respect pour les droits qu'elle a possédés pendant des siècles. Une animadversion Européenne frappe les factieux qui l'oppriment, mais ses anciens titres à la Souveraineté du midi de l'autre hémisphère, ces titres que l'Europe reconnoit depuis trois cents ans, doivent dans l'opinion de Sa Majesté Impériale participer aussi longtems que possible aux garanties dont le nouveau droit public environne toutes les légitimités. Nous ne prétendons pas arrêter la marche de l'avenir; l'affranchissement de l'Amérique Méridionale est probable, il est imminent peut-être, mais, je le répète, c'étoit une raison de plus aux yeux de L'Empereur, pour souhaiter que Son Ministre engageât le gouvernement des Etats-Unis à suivre un système inoffensif à l'égard de l'Espagne, et comme dans une occasion toute semblable l'intervention de Mr. de Poléica avoit produit les plus heureux effets, nous étions autorisés à fonder sur la vôtre les mêmes espérances.

Je n'ajouterai point à ces considérations, qu'il eût été préférable que la déclaration relative à notre règlement du 4/16 Septembre fût verbale et qu'un document de cette importance, et un autre qui est muni de la

* Ratifications were not exchanged till January 10, 1823. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 123, 124.

signature de Notre Auguste Maître, ne fussent pas confiés au Capitaine inconnu d'un vaisseau étranger; mais je me hâte de Vous prévenir, qu'à fin de rendre à Sa Majesté Impériale les services qu'Elle attend de Votre zèle, il importe, Monsieur le Baron, que Vous saisissiez la première occasion favorable de remettre à la voile.

Pour ce qui est des négociations que Vous deviez entrainer à Washington, j'ai déjà observé, que, d'après les derniers renseignemens qui nous sont parvenus et comme Vous le remarquez avec infiniment de justesse, nous serions dans la nécessité de poursuivre tout ensemble ces négociations avec les Etats Unis et avec la Grande-Bretagne. Nous avons eû à ce sujet quelques explications préalables avec le Duc de Wellington.¹⁰ Il paraît que ce plénipotentiaire n'étoit point autorisé à conclure un arrangement formel concernant les possessions respectives des deux Puissances sur la côte N. O. de l'Amérique; mais nous sommes convenus qu'au moyen d'une note que le C^{te} de Lieven présenteroit au Cabinet de St. James, Sir Charles Bagot recevrait l'autorisation de traiter de cette affaire à St. Petersbourg sur le principe des convenances mutuelles. La question des loix relatives aux mesures de surveillance que nous serons toujours obligés de prendre, pour nous mettre à l'abri de la contrebande et de toute entreprise hostile, seroit décidée en même tems par Sa Majesté Impériale.

Comme nos négociations avec l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre auroient nécessairement grande influence sur celles que Vous deviez ouvrir avec le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, et qu'à la distance qui va nous séparer, il Vous seroit absolument impossible de recevoir à tems les notions dont Vous auriez besoin pour faire concorder Vos propositions avec celles que nous aurions adressées à Sir Charles Bagot, et pour obtenir des résultats analogues, l'intérêt du service public exige impérieusement, que la négociation qui devoit avoir lieu à Washington puisse se transporter aussi à St. Petersbourg.

En conséquence, Monsieur le Baron, Vous voudrez bien dès Votre arrivée aux Etats-Unis témoigner à Mr. Adams, qu'afin de compléter la déclaration que Vous avez chargé Mr. d'Ellisen de lui faire, Vous y joignez au nom de Notre Auguste Maître et comme nouvelle preuve des sentimens qui l'animent envers le Gouvernement Américain, l'expression du désir, que Mr. Middleton soit muni sans délai des pouvoirs nécessaires *pour terminer avec le Cabinet Impérial par un arrangement fondé sur le principe des convenances mutuelles, toutes les discussions qui se sont élevées entre la Russie et les Etats-Unis, à la suite du règlement publié le 4/16 Septembre 1821.* Vous ajouterez que nous avons déjà fait la même proposition au Gouv^{nt} Britannique et que nous avons tout lieu de croire qu'elle sera accueillie.

Il nous semble permis d'espérer également que le Cabinet de Washington y souscrira sans aucune difficulté. Si les négociations s'établissent à St. Petersbourg, nous aurons soin de Vous communiquer tout ce qu'elles pourront offrir d'intéressant pour Vous.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération très distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

VÉRONE, le 2/14 Décembre 1822.

à Mr. le Baron de Tuyl.

¹⁰ Then representing Great Britain at the Congress of Verona. A memorandum on the ukase of 1821, presented by him to Nesselrode on October 17, 1822, is in his *Despatches*, second series, I, 372-373. See also Nesselrode to Wellington, November 11/23, 1822, *ibid.*, 576-578; Wellington to Lieven, November 28, *ibid.*, 606-607; Wellington to George Canning, November 29, *ibid.*, 615-616.

XIX. ELLISEN TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 13/25 Décembre 1822.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte,

Don José Manuel de Zozaya, nommé par le prétendu Empereur Iturbide au poste d'Envoyé extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire pour les Etas Unis d'Amérique, est arrivé au siège du Gouvernement fédéral et vient d'obtenir sa première audience en cette qualité auprès du Président des Etats Unis.¹¹

L'arrivée de cet agent d'un Gouvernement dont l'indépendance n'a point été reconnue par les Puissances Européennes, le met dans une position fort singulière vis-a-vis des Ministres et Chargés d'affaires des dites Puissances résidant à Washington, position, dont il serait superflu de vouloir détailler les embarras et qui a engagé l'Envoyé de Sa Majesté Britannique¹² à se dispenser d'assister à un dîner par lequel le Président a paru vouloir célébrer l'arrivée du Ministre Mexicain.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Mr. Adams m'avait prevenu quelques jours d'avance, que Mr. de Zozaya avec sa suite était invité à ce dîner, en ajoutant qu'il trouverait fort simple, que je ne profitasse point de l'invitation, que j'avais reçue pour m'y rendre. Il fit la même observation au Comte de Ménou, chargé d'affaires de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne.¹³

Une indisposition assez grave me retenant chez moi pendant plusieurs jours, je n'ai pris aucune part aux délibérations qui eurent lieu entre les membres du Corps Diplomatique relativement à cette invitation, et je me suis permis de profiter d'un avis qui ressemblait si fort à un conseil.

On suppose que la présence de l'agent Mexicain à Washington est un des motifs qui ont engagé le Ministre de sa Majesté Catholique¹⁴ à prolonger son séjour à New-York.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la plus haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et obéissant serviteur

GEORGE ELLISEN.

XX. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

WASHINGTON, 28 Avril
10 Mai 1823.*Monsieur le Comte,*

Aussitôt que les formalités de ma présentation au Président des Etats Unis ont été terminées,¹⁵ je me suis empressé de remplir les ordres

¹¹ Iturbide had proclaimed himself emperor of Mexico May 18, 1822. Don José Manuel de Zozaya, accredited by him as envoy to the United States, presented his credentials December 10, 1822.

¹² Stratford Canning.

¹³ Chargé d'affaires of France from June 29, 1822, to August 3, 1824.

¹⁴ Señor Don Joaquin de Anduaga.

¹⁵ Tuyll seems to have arrived in March; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 137. He presented his credentials on April 19. Adams's diary, fragmentary at this point, contains no record of conversations with him till June.

renfermées dans les instructions de Votre Excellence. Ayant demandé à Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams une conférence, ce Ministre la fixa au 12/24 Avril.

Après lui avoir renouvelé l'assurance des dispositions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, notre Auguste Maître, envers le Gouvernement Américain, je manifestai au Secrétaire d'Etat le désir de Sa Majesté Impériale de voir terminer au moyen d'une négociation amicale et par un arrangement fondé sur les convenances mutuelles les discussions, qui se sont élevées entre les deux cabinets au sujet de quelques unes des dispositions comprises dans l'Oukaze du 4/16 Septembre 1821 et relativement auxquelles une correspondance entre Mr. Adams et Mr. de Poletica avait eu lieu. Je dis ensuite que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis avait déjà été informé par Mr. Middleton, son Ministre en Russie, du désir de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de prévenir des voies de fait entre les vaisseaux de la Marine Impériale, stationnés dans les parages de la côte Nord-Ouest d'Amérique, et les vaisseaux des Etats Unis; que j'étais maintenant autorisé à déclarer à Mr. Adams en le priant de porter cette déclaration à la connaissance du Président, que Sa Majesté Impériale, en vue de prévenir les inconvénients de cette nature, qui pourraient naître durant ladite négociation, avait fait adresser aux commandants des croiseurs russes sur la côte Nord-Ouest, des instructions provisoires, qu'éloignaient toute appréhension à ce sujet.³⁶ J'ajoutai que j'étais également chargé de proposer au nom de Sa Majesté l'Empereur au Gouvernement des Etats Unis de transférer à St. Pétersbourg la négociation relative aux discussions susmentionnées, en munissant Mr. Middleton des instructions nécessaires à cet effet, prévenant Mr. Adams que notre Cour avait de même engagé le Ministre Britannique à transmettre à l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté le Roi d'Angleterre à St. Pétersbourg, Sir Charles Bagot, les pleins-pouvoirs requis pour aplanir les difficultés nées entre les deux cours par rapport à la même question; invitation, à laquelle le Ministre Anglais s'était empressé d'acquiescer.

Cette dernière circonstance m'était connue par une dépêche que Mr. l'Ambassadeur, Comte de Lieven, avait eu la très grande attention de m'adresser le 2/14 Février et qui m'est parvenue à Baltimore précisément le veille de mon arrivée à Washington.

Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat me répondit que son Gouvernement savait justement apprécier les dispositions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur à l'égard de ce pays, dispositions dont lui, Mr. Adams, avait eu de fréquentes occasions de se convaincre personnellement durant sa mission en Russie; que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis était animé des mêmes sentiments envers notre Auguste Maître; qu'il porterait à la connaissance du Président tout ce que je venais de lui communiquer, que ce dernier apprendrait avec beaucoup de satisfaction la déclaration relative aux croiseurs de S. M. I. sur la côte Nord-Ouest et qu'il ne doutait pas que le Président n'accueillît volontiers la proposition de transférer la négociation à St. Pétersbourg. Mr. Adams fit l'observation, que comme la Grande Bretagne a jugé avoir des intérêts qui se rattachent à cette question et qu'elle la traite à St. Pétersbourg, il serait en effet plus naturel que le Gouvernement Américain adoptât également cette marche.

Mr. Adams prit alors lecture des deux pièces non officielles, ci-jointes,³⁷ que j'avais pensé nécessaire de préparer, tant pour donner la précision, désirable à ce que j'avais à énoncer au sujet des croiseurs, que pour

³⁶ See p. 338, *supra*, note 57.

³⁷ One of these is no. XXI., which follows.

indiquer d'une manière plus exacte les vues de S. M. l'Empereur, particulièrement pour ce qui concerne la fausse direction, imprimée dans ce pays ci à l'opinion publique par les assertions malveillantes et mensongères, fréquemment insérées dans les journaux américains. J'exprimai à Mr. Adams le désir que le Gouvernement fédéral pu[t] rouver le moyen, s'il le jugeait de sa convenance, de rectifier par une voie indirecte les notions erronnées, qui se sont propagées de cette manière, et tout récemment encore sur les intentions très faussement attribuées à la Russie, touchant la question dont il s'agit.

Mr. Adams me pria de lui laisser les deux pièces déjà citées, afin de les communiquer au Président d'une manière purement confidentielle, demande à laquelle j'ai immédiatement déféré. Nous convinmes que j'adresserai au Secrétaire d'Etat une note officielle, renfermant la proposition relative au renvoi de la négociation à St. Pétersbourg, office, que je lui ai passé le même jour et dont j'ai l'honneur de transmettre à Votre Excellence une copie.¹⁹

Mr. Adams me témoigna ensuite partager avec moi l'espoir que les deux cabinets parviendront à s'entendre sur les points en discussion. Ce Ministre m'a adressé le 7 Mai une note officielle,²⁰ dont Votre Excellence trouvera ici la copie, annonçant que le Président accède à la proposition, qui m'avait été prescrit de faire au Gouvernement Américain. En conséquence ce dernier transfère à St. Pétersbourg la négociation relative à la côte NO et Mr. Middleton recevra les pouvoirs nécessaires.

Votre Excellence me permettra de lui témoigner combien je m'estime heureux de voir cet objet réglé conformément aux intentions de notre Auguste Maître et d'une manière qui, même sous le rapport des formes, me semble répondre à tout ce que l'on aurait pu désirer.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

2 annexes.

TUYLL.

XXI. MEMORANDUM ACCOMPANYING NO. XX.

Mémoire.

L'Empereur désirant terminer à l'amiable et d'après le principe des convenances mutuelles la discussion qui s'est élevée entre son Cabinet et celui de Washington, relativement à quelques unes des dispositions du Règlement du 4/16 Septembre 1824, Sa Majesté Impériale a fait adresser aux commandants de ses croisières sur la côte Nord-Ouest d'Amérique de nouvelles instructions provisoires, au moyen desquels il ne saurait plus subsister d'appréhension, que des voies de fait puissent avoir lieu entre les vaisseaux des deux Puissances et occasionner ainsi des complications, que l'une et l'autre désirent également prévenir.

Les vaisseaux de la Marine Impériale exerçant [exerceront?] leur surveillance aussi près des côtes, que le permettent d'une part la nécessité d'inspecter le commerce interlope, les provocations à la révolte et les fournitures d'armes et de munitions, qui seraient faites aux naturels du pays, de l'autre l'obligation d'écarter les chasseurs et pêcheurs étrangers des parages, que fréquentent ceux de notre Compagnie ou qu'ils gardent après les avoir exploités.

¹⁹ It is printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 434-435.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 435-436.

Nos croisières ont l'ordre de s'éloigner des côtes le moins possible; du reste il leur est prescrit de se conformer aux dispositions du règlement du 4/16 Septembre 1821, en tout ce qui concerne les vaisseaux égarés, battus par la tempête ou contrariés par les courants. C'est aussi d'après les principes de ce règlement, que continueront à être jugées les prises, que les vaisseaux de la Marine Imperiale seraient encore dans les cas de faire nonobstant les nouvelles instructions provisoires, qu'ils ont reçues.

Monsieur Middleton a reçu du Ministère Imperiale l'assurance du désir constant qui anime l'Empereur de maintenir dans toute leur intégrité les relations amicales subsistantes entre la Cour de Russie et le Gouvernement des États Unis.

Désirant ainsi que ces derniers de prévenir toute voie de fait et ayant envoyé dans cette vue aux commandants de ses croisières, des instructions, qui ne permettent plus de regarder l'état des choses existant comme pouvant faire naître des conflits, et des discussions nouvelles, Sa Majesté Imperiale, comme Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode l'a temoigné à Monsieur Middleton, s'attend aussi à un juste retour de la part du Gouvernement des États Unis.

La Cour de Russie aime à espérer, que le Cabinet de Washington ne négligera aucun moyen en son pouvoir pour ne plus laisser subsister les opinions erronées, que la malveillance s'est efforcée d'accréditer en Amérique sur la nature de la présente discussion.

Rien ne prouve mieux la pureté de nos intentions que la déclaration, qui va être faite au Gouvernement des États Unis. Mais à son tour, il pourrait aussi nous donner le gage des dispositions, qui l'animent sous ce rapport, en dictant aux journaux que dirige son influence le langage de la vérité. Plus le Gouvernement Américain tachera de convaincre son commerce et sa marine qu'il est intentionné de s'expliquer et de s'entendre à l'amiable avec le Cabinet Imperial, sur les difficultés relatives au règlement du 4/16 Septembre 1821, plus il rassurera les ressortissants des dispositions amicales, dans lesquelles il a trouvé la Cour de Russie à cet égard et moins les inconvénients, que l'on a pu appréhender, seront à craindre dorénavant.

XXII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{28 \text{ Avril}}{10 \text{ Mai}}$ 1823

A Son Excellence Monsieur
le Comte de Nesselrode.
Secrète.

Monsieur le Comte

Durant le cours de la conférence que j'eus avec Monsieur Adams, le 12/24 Avril, ce ministre fit allusions à certains articles récents des feuilles américaines (l'une desquelles se trouve ci annexée), où il est fait mention de la conduite tenue par la frégate russe l'Apollon, à l'égard du vaisseau marchand des États Unis, le Pearl.²⁰ Je lui fis remarquer qu'aucune date ne se trouvant alléguée, l'on pouvait considérer comme certain, que ce fait devait avoir eu lieu avant l'arrivée des nouveaux ordres provisoires, adressés par la Cour aux Commandants de nos vaisseaux dans la mer Sud.

²⁰ This relates to a claim of the Boston firm of Bryant and Sturgis, for damage to a ship, the *Pearl*, on the northwest coast. It was settled in 1825. Adams, *Memoirs*, VI. 529-530.

Je pris occasion de cet incident pour rappeler encore une fois le vœu, que ce Gouvernement adoptât quelques mesures propres à rectifier l'opinion publique, sur les vues de la Russie, ajoutant que, bien que l'on ne dût pas attacher une trop grande importance à des articles de journaux, notamment dans un pays qui admet une liberté de presse indéfinie, on ne pouvait pas cependant non plus les négliger entièrement.

Quand il fut question des complications qui pouvaient naître, et que les deux Etats désirèrent également prévenir, Monsieur Adams me dit, que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis tient, à la vérité, une escadre dans la Mer Pacifique, mais qu'elle est stationnée dans les parages méridionaux de cette Mer, et qu'il ne croit pas que ces bâtiments quitteront leur station actuelle. Une lettre que j'ai reçue récemment de Philadelphie et qui fait mention des clameurs élevées au sujet de la frégate l'Apollon, coïncide entièrement avec l'opinion exprimée par Monsieur Adams. Cette lettre renferme l'avis que l'administration va, sous peu, envoyer une frégate dans la Mer du Pacifique, en rappelant le "Franklin" qui s'y trouve stationné.²¹

Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat eut encore l'occasion de m'observer, lorsqu'il fut question du commerce de contrebande, que le Gouvernement de ce pays n'exerce qu'une action limitée sur la marine marchande, et que les habitants des Etats Unis sont habitués, sous ce rapport, à une très grande latitude: observation qui coïncide parfaitement avec les notions que l'on avait déjà été à même de se procurer à cet égard.

J'avais obtenu de Monsieur Adams la permission de lui remettre les dépêches que j'allais avoir l'honneur de vous adresser, Monsieur le Comte, dans l'espoir que Monsieur Pinkney pourrait les emporter avec lui. Ayant dîné chez Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat, le 30 Avril, et me trouvant encore, à cette époque, dans l'attente d'une réponse positive, sur la proposition qu'il m'avait été prescrit de faire, je lui demandai une nouvelle conférence qui fut fixée au jour suivant.

Monsieur Adams commença par me dire que le Président l'avait chargé de m'annoncer, qu'il accédait à la proposition de transférer la négociation à Pétersbourg et que je recevrais incessamment une réponse officielle rédigée dans ce sens. Elle m'a été en effet remise, le 7 Mai, et la copie se trouve annexée à la dépêche sub No. 4.²²

Il me donna ensuite à entendre que le Gouvernement se proposait de faire insérer dans une feuille publique (comme il est quelquefois dans le cas d'en user), un article officiel, destiné à calmer les inquiétudes que l'on a conçues relativement aux intentions de la Cour de Russie pour ce qui concerne la côte Nord-Ouest;²³ inquiétudes qui, d'après ce que me

²¹ The *Franklin*, Captain Stewart, and the schooner *Dolphin*, constituted the Pacific squadron, stationed off the coasts of Chile and Peru. It was now planned to send out instead the *United States*, Captain Hull, and the *Peacock*.

²² *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 435.

²³ This was done through the publication in the semi-official *National Intelligencer* for June 30, 1823, of an editorial stating that while the ukase of September 4/16, 1821, had not been revoked, yet at the proposal of the Russian government the minister of the United States was to receive powers to confer with the Russian cabinet respecting an adjustment of the claims on the northwest coast. The well-known moderation of Alexander and his friendly disposition toward the United States gave reason to expect that this adjustment would be "consistent with all the rights of this nation". It was believed that Russian commanders on the northwest coast had received orders "which will obviate any further immediate collision with the commerce and navigation of the United States in the Pacific Ocean".

dit le Secrétaire d'Etat, ont été réveillés encore tout dernièrement par l'incident mentionné plus haut, lequel a donné lieu à des réclamations adressées au Gouvernement par le capitaine de vaisseau américain, et que Monsieur Middleton recevra l'ordre de porter à la connaissance du Ministère Impérial. J'ai exprimé alors le désir que cet objet put être traité séparément, et qu'il ne se trouvât point compris dans les pièces relatives à la négociation qui va s'établir; ayant jugé que ce mode était plus conforme aux vues conciliantes qui dirigent les deux Cabinets, et qu'il serait préférable d'écarter de la négociation proprement dite tout ce qui pourrait y attacher un caractère contentieux. Monsieur Adams m'a semblé entrer dans cette façon de voir, et me répondit qu'il prenait à cet égard les directions du Président, et qu'il tâcherait de faire adopter la forme que je venais de lui suggérer.

Il me restitua les deux pièces non officielles annexées à mon Rapport sub No. 4, qu'il avait portées à la connaissance du Président d'une manière purement confidentielle; et comme il m'apprit que le départ de Monsieur Pinkney avait déjà eu lieu, je le priai de renfermer la présente expédition que je transmets sous cachet volant à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Comte de Lieven, dans son paquet à Monsieur Rush, Ministre des Etats Unis près de son Ministère [sa Majesté] Britannique, lequel parviendra à ce dernier par une voie parfaitement sûre.

Monsieur Adams a bien voulu me confier, dans ce dernier entretien, qu'il avait reçu la participation confidentielle d'une déclaration de Monsieur Canning, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la Grande Bretagne, désavouant les projets, que l'on avait dans le public attribués à l'Angleterre, sur quelques unes des possessions espagnoles dans les Indes Occidentales et notamment sur l'île de Cuba. Ce n'est point de la part du Gouvernement Anglais que cette confiance a été faite au cabinet de Washington.²⁴

Le ministre Américain ajouta aux communications, dont je viens de rendre compte à Votre Excellence, les plus fortes assurances des dispositions sincères du Président des Etats Unis, de se conformer, autant que cela dépendra de lui, à ce qui pourra être agréable à Sa Majesté l'Empereur, Notre Auguste Maître.

J'ai eu, de même, la satisfaction de remarquer en Monsieur Adams, durant le cours de cette affaire, les intentions les plus conciliantes accompagnées de formes pleines d'obligeance.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur

TUYLL.

XXIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, 31 Mai
12 Juin 1823.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Mr. Canning, Ministre de S. M. Britannique, près des Etats Unis, qui se prépare à faire sous peu un voyage en Angleterre, a été dans ces

²⁴ George Canning wrote to Stratford Canning, December 7, 1822, instructing him to make an express disavowal to the United States of any British designs on Cuba. See Mr. Temperley's article in this journal, XI. 789-791.

derniers temps, engagé dans une correspondance très active avec Mr. Adams.²⁵ Des difficultés se sont élevées entre les deux gouvernements sur quelques points relatifs aux droits, auxquels sont assujétis les vaisseaux américains, employés au commerce des Indes occidentales anglaises. J'ai lieu de penser que si les objets en discussion peuvent être considérés comme importants en eux mêmes, ils ne sont nullement de nature à déranger, en rien, la bonne intelligence qui règne entre ces deux puissances. J'ai eu plus d'une fois l'occasion de me convaincre que les rapports entre Mr. Adams et Mr. Canning sont de la nature la plus satisfaisante; l'Envoyé a, en effet, réussi à se concilier ici l'estime et la bienveillance générale, et elles me semblent parfaitement méritées. La négociation dont je viens de parler, et l'occupation qu'a donnée au Secrétaire d'Etat l'expédition récente de plusieurs ministres de ce pays aux lieux de leur destination, ont été cause que jusqu'au moment actuel il n'a point encore transmis à Mr. Middleton les instructions et les pouvoirs relatifs à notre négociation. Mr. Adams m'a dit hier, qu'il s'occuperait incessamment de cet objet. Ce retard me fait juger que bien que le Gouvernement des Etats Unis attache un assez grand intérêt à l'affaire en question, il n'éprouve, sous ce rapport, aucune sorte d'empressement inquiet; ayant placé une juste et pleine confiance dans les communications qui lui ont été faites encore dernièrement au nom de Sa Majesté l'Empereur notre August Maitre.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL.

XXIV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, $\frac{23 \text{ Juillet}}{4 \text{ Août}}$ 1823.

à Son Excellence

Mr. le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Votre Excellence trouvera ci-inclus un article de la "National Gazette" de Philadelphie, du 23 Juillet,²⁶ où il est fait mention de la Russie, à l'occasion du Secrétaire d'Etat Mr. Adams, et qui sous ce double rapport m'a paru n'être pas dénuée d'intérêt pour le Ministère Imperial.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

²⁵ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 520-522.

²⁶ This was a communication signed "Marcus" entitled "Importance of Personal Character". The writer stated that the suggestion of mediation by the Emperor Alexander between Great Britain and the United States originated with Count Romanzoff, and was due to his high appreciation of the qualities of John Quincy Adams, then minister at St. Petersburg. Adams is referred to as an "enlightened statesman—profound scholar, skilful diplomatist—modest, unassuming patriot." *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, July 23, 1823. This paper was edited by Robert Walsh, a strong supporter of Adams.

XXV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, le ^{29 Sept.}
11 Oct. 1823.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à Votre Excellence une brochure, qui a paru dernièrement et laquelle produit ici une assez grande sensation.

Elle contient une correspondance politique de la nature la plus confidentielle entre Mr. Adams, ci-devant Président des Etats Unis, père du Secrétaire d'Etat actuel, et un Mr. Cunningham, un de ses parents. Ce dernier étant mort, son fils, oubliant ce qu'il se devait à lui même et à la mémoire de son père, a fait imprimer cette correspondance.²⁷

Les lettres de Mr. Adams déplairont à beaucoup d'individus, elles peuvent sous ce rapport accroître l'animosité de ceux qui se sont opposées à l'élection de son fils au poste de Président, et tel a été sans doute l'unique but de cette publication. Il me paraît par contre, qu'aux yeux des hommes sensés et impartiaux, ces lettres feront honneur à l'esprit et aux vues de leur auteur. Elles renferment des choses intéressantes relativement à l'histoire et aux factions de ce pays et des aveux bien remarquables sur les vices inhérents à la constitution américaine, très propres, ce me semble, à refroidir l'enthousiasme aveugle, que cette forme de gouvernement inspire à un si grand nombre de personnes.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

XXVI. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, le 8/20 Nov. 1823.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Les dépêches que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 14, 18 et 20 Août me sont parvenues récemment.²⁸ Je m'estime heureux, Monsieur le Comte, d'apprendre, que mes démarches aient obtenu l'approbation de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, notre Auguste

²⁷ *Correspondence between the Hon. John Adams . . . and the late Wm. Cunningham, esq.* (Boston, 1823), published by Ephraim M. Cunningham.

²⁸ These despatches seem not to be in the archives of the Russian embassy at Washington. But the second one is no doubt the very important communication of August 18/30, 1823, which, from a copy in the Adams Papers, Mr. Ford has printed in his article on "The Genesis of the Monroe Doctrine", in this journal, VIII. 30-32, and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XXXV. 402-405. In this despatch Nesselrode sets forth in high terms the emperor's policy regarding Spain and Portugal and their American colonies. It was communicated to Adams in an interview with Tuyl on November 17. The history of the communications between the two, in this period, is best followed in the memorandum concerning them which Adams prepared for Monroe, and which Mr. Ford prints, *Proceedings*, XXXV. 394-399. See also *Memoirs*, VI. 178-222, *passim*. The despatch of August 20 (September 1, n. s.) related to the northwest coast.

Maitre, et celle de Votre Excellence. Elle sera, je me flatte, persuadée que mes efforts ne cesseront de tendre à en mériter la continuation.

Je me suis empressé de communiquer à Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams le principal contenu des susdites dépêches. Ce Ministre avait reçu de Mr. Middleton l'annonce de la destination qu'il a plu à Sa Majesté Impériale de donner à Mr. de Poletica,²⁹ et il me fit part de la note que Votre Excellence avait adressée à ce sujet au Ministre des Etats Unis. Mr. Adams me témoigna de nouveau, à cette occasion, augurer favorablement de l'issue de la négociation relative à la côte Nord-Ouest.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur le Comte, de Vous transmettre la note que Mr. Adams m'a passée en réponse à la lettre officielle que je lui avais remise le 4/16 du mois dernier.³⁰

Je me félicite qu'elle soit conçue de manière à n'exiger aucune réplique de ma part et de me voir ainsi dispensé pour le présent de toute discussion ultérieure sur un objet aussi délicat à traiter. J'avais reçu cette note quelques heures avant le dernier entretien dont je viens de rendre compte à Votre Excellence.³¹ Je ne cachai point à Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat la satisfaction qu'elle me causait.

Ayant eu quelques raisons de supposer durant nos dernières conférences sur l'objet en question, que ce Ministre pouvait attacher à mes observations une tendance qui s'écarterait de mes intentions, je lui confiai dès lors et je lui réitérai dernièrement l'assurance que ce n'était point en vertu d'instructions récentes que j'étais entré dans ces détails, mais que j'avais jugé qu'il pouvait être convenable de saisir l'occasion que m'offrait ma communication officielle (communication que je n'avais pu faire à moins que de lui adresser et que j'eusse adressée de même au Ministre des affaires étrangères de tout gouvernement auprès duquel je me serais trouvé accrédité), pour lui présenter ces éclaircissements.

J'ai remarqué avec une vive satisfaction que Mr. Adams a rendu pleinement justice, non seulement dans nos entretiens, mais encore dans la note ci-annexée, au ton aussi franc qu'affectueux dont a été accompagné la communication que je me suis vu dans le cas de lui faire sur un objet important en lui-même et à l'égard duquel les opinions de notre Cour ne coïncident pas avec celles de son Gouvernement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

²⁹ Nesselrode having to accompany the emperor on a journey, Polética had been charged with the negotiations with Middleton at St. Petersburg respecting the northwest and the ukase. Nesselrode to Middleton, August 22, 1823, *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 448; Middleton to Adams, September 19, *ibid.*

³⁰ Tuyl's note is printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XXXV. 400; the draft and final text of Adams's reply of November 15, *ibid.*, 378-380, and *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII. 692-693.

³¹ This was the interview of November 17, at which Tuyl communicated Nesselrode's despatch of August 30. Tuyl's despatch, giving an account of the interview, is not among the papers received from St. Petersburg, nor are those which he sent on October 27 and November 11, describing previous interviews; but the latter two are printed by Mr. Ford, from copies among the Adams manuscripts, in *Proceedings*, XXXV. 400-402.

XXVII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON le 8/20 Novembre 1823

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Dans mon dernier entretien avec Monsieur Adams,²³ ce Ministre, en me témoignant ne concevoir guère d'inquiétude sur le succès de la négociation pour la côte Nord-Ouest, me dit qu'il désirerait pouvoir être aussi tranquille sur d'autres points. Je m'aperçus sans peine, que les soucis, aujourd'hui que la guerre d'Espagne est si heureusement terminée, portaient sur la possibilité d'un concours des Alliés, en vue du rétablissement de l'autorité de Sa Majesté Catholique dans les Colonies Espagnoles.

Je repondis d'une manière vague appuyant sur les dispositions amicales qui subsistent réciproquement, et sur mon désir sincère d'être assez heureux pour contribuer à les consolider toujours d'avantage, par devoir, tel étant l'intention de l'Empereur, et par inclination personnelle. Il m'assura dans les termes les plus forts, qu'il en était pleinement persuadé.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXVIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 31 Decembre 1823.
12 Janvier 1824.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte

J'ai fait part à Monsieur Adams du passage de la dépêche que Votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser de Lemberg le 7/19 Octobre dernier, qui concernait le Gouvernement de Etats Unis et plus particulièrement Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat lui même.²⁴ Il s'y est montré très sensible et m'a répondu dans des termes attestant le prix qu'il attache à cette manifestation flatteuse de l'opinion de Sa Majesté Impériale à son sujet. J'ai parlé aussi, mais très succinctement, à ce Ministre des nouvelles renfermées dans la dépêche de la même date se rapportant aux affaires de Turquie.

J'ai l'honneur d'informer dès à présent Votre Excellence: que Monsieur Adams m'a prevenu, qu'il me remettrait sous peu un nouvel acte du Congrès relatif à l'égalité du droit de tonnage établi dans ce pays-ci à l'égard de ceux où elle est admise.²⁵ En conséquence nos vaisseaux marchands vont jouir de la réciprocité que le Gouvernement Imperial était en droit de demander. Je me flattais d'obtenir également, que cet arrangement eut un effet rétroactif, en remontant jusqu'à l'époque, où l'égalité des droits de tonnage a été introduite en Russie. Monsieur

²³ *Memoirs*, VI. 189-190.

²⁴ Interview of January 8. Despatch expressing gratification at the explanatory paragraph in the *National Intelligencer*; see note 23, *supra*. *Memoirs*, VI. 229.

²⁵ Act of January 7, 1824.

Adams m'a dit: que suivant les termes de la loi une telle demande ne pouvait être accueillie et il m'a témoigné son regret de n'avoir pu remplir les vœux que je lui avais exprimés à cet égard, en ajoutant une phrase honnête annonçant la disposition où il est, de faire ce qui peut nous être agréable.

Je ne manquerai pas Monsieur le Comte de vous transmettre, aussitôt que je l'aurai reçue, la réponse officielle de Monsieur Adams, ainsi que tout ce qui se rapporte à cette question.

Dans la séance du Sénat du 8 Janvier on a fait, pour la prendre en considération, une seconde lecture de la motion faite la veille par Monsieur Barbour (Président du Comité diplomatique du Sénat) "de prier "le Président des Etats Unis de porter, si dans son opinion cela peut se "faire sans inconvénient pour le bien public, à la connaissance du Sénat "des informations propres à exposer l'état des relations entre l'Espagne "et les Etats Unis, depuis la ratification du traité des Florides jusqu'au "temps actuel; ainsi que l'effet qui a produit sur ces relations, l'établissement par les Etats Unis des rapports diplomatiques avec les Gouvernements de l'Amérique méridionale et septentrionale."³⁶

Le Général Cortès³⁷ est arrivé dernièrement à Washington, chargé d'une mission du Gouvernement du Mexique auprès de celui des Etats Unis.

Je viens de trouver dans la gazette de ce matin l'acte du Congrès, dont j'ai l'honneur de joindre ici un exemplaire.

La présente dépêche termine la série de mes rapports en Cour durant l'année 1823.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération,

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXIX. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON, 15/27 Mai 1824.

à Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode.

Monsieur le Comte,

Je dinai il y a une quinzaine de jours chez Mr. le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams, avec les autres membres du Corps Diplomatique. Parmi les convives se trouvait le Colonel Torrens, Chargé d'Affaires du Gouvernement Mexicain, et Mr. Rebello, Envoyé par le Prince Royal du Brésil auprès du Gouvernement des Etats Unis.³⁷ Comme ce dernier m'avait apporté des lettres de Rio Janeiro, je trouvai convenable de lui adresser la parole après le dîner. Lui ayant parlé de quelques personnes de ma connaissance, je lui demandai des nouvelles de la santé du Prince et de la Princesse. Mr. Rebello m'observa qu'au Brésil on ne con-

³⁶ Resolution offered January 7 and passed January 8.

³⁷ Torrens ?

³⁷ Colonel José A. Torrens; José Selvestre Rebello, chargé d'affaires, presented his credentials May 26, 1824. Tuyll, as Russian minister to the Portuguese court, would have at first attended King John VI. in Rio Janeiro. The rebellion by which, after the king's return to Lisbon, Brazil had been declared independent, had occurred in 1822, and his son Dom Pedro was proclaimed emperor on October 12 of that year.

naissait plus ces titres et que ceux d'Empereur et d'Impératrice les avaient remplacés. Trouvant l'observation tout à fait déplacée, je rompis immédiatement l'entretien, en me tournant au même instant vers le fils de Mr. Adams, qui n'était pas loin de moi, et entrant en conversation avec lui. Je ne parlai plus à Mr. Rebello.

Nous nous sommes rencontrés quelques jours après à une soirée de Mme Adams. Mr. Rebello est venu me saluer, je lui ai répondu par une révérence.

Ayant eu l'honneur d'être présenté à Rio Janeiro au Prince et à la Princesse du Brésil et de les voir souvent à la Cour de S. M. Très Fidèle, il y aurait eu ce me semble l'affectation de ma part à ne point demander de leurs nouvelles.

J'ai trouvé parfaitement superflu d'entrer avec Mr. Rebello dans aucune sorte d'explication sur les motifs qui me portent à ne point donner à Leurs Altesses Royales d'autre titre que celui, qui est reconnu par Sa Majesté l'Empereur notre Auguste Maître.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte,

de Votre Excellence,

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

TUYLL.

XXX. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.²⁸

St. PÉTERSBOURG, 20 Mai 1824.

Dépêche au Général Baron de Tuyl à Washington.

Je suis en possession de vos dépêches jusqu'à celle qui porte le No. 16 et il m'est agréable de pouvoir vous annoncer que l'Empereur a lu avec intérêt les observations qu'elles renferment tant sur les événements qui se passent aux Etats Unis, que sur la situation des choses dans le continent limitrophe.

C'est avec une égale satisfaction que Sa Majesté a retrouvé dans le compte que Vous nous rendez de vos rapports avec le Gouvernement Américain, des preuves de la sagacité avec laquelle Vous remplissez les intentions de l'Empereur dans un poste où l'application de nos principes politiques exige souvent beaucoup de prudence et de discernement.

C'est ainsi que le contenu de Votre dépêche sub No. 63 de l'année dernière a mérité plus particulièrement l'attention et le suffrage de Sa Majesté Impériale. Le memorandum confidentiel que Mr. Adams Vous a remis à la suite de nos communications sur les affaires de la Monarchie Espagnole à cette époque,²⁹ est à la vérité basé sur des principes opposés à ceux que professe l'alliance européenne. Néanmoins l'Empereur n'a pu qu'apprécier le ton modéré qui règne dans l'énoncé de ces principes et les nouveaux témoignages du prix qu'attachent les Etats Unis à leurs rapports intimes avec la Russie.

L'Empereur a de même remarqué avec plaisir que Vous ayez saisi entre les deux alternatives que Vous a proposées Mr. Adams,³⁰ celle qui a empêché que ces communications réciproques ne fussent portées à la connaissance du Congrès, car la notoriété qu'elles auraient acquises ne

²⁸ The original manuscript (at St. Petersburg not Washington) bears an inscription expressing the emperor's approval.

²⁹ Note of November 15, 1823; see note 30, *supra*.

³⁰ To make the various communications public by allowing them to be transmitted to Congress, or not to do so. *Memoirs*, VI. 212-215.

pouvait manquer d'y amener des discussions violentes, ou des controverses aussi peu désirables dans le public. Ce double résultat aurait été également contraire à nos vues et Sa Majesté Vous sait gré de l'avoir prévenu.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, etc.

(signé) NESSELRODE.

XXXI. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{31}{12}$ Juillet
Août 1824.

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte,

Monsieur Adams ayant diné chez moi le 28 Juillet, me parla de la Convention du 5/17 Avril,¹¹ et m'annonça, que je recevrai cet acte, l'échange des ratifications devant se faire ici. Il parut envisager celle de ce côté, comme ne devant pas rencontrer de difficultés.

Ce qu'il y a de positif c'est que Monsieur Adams, surtout à l'époque actuelle où va se faire l'élection du Président, est personnellement et fortement intéressé à terminer cette affaire selon les désirs de l'Empereur, c'est à dire sans aucune modification à la teneur du traité; qu'il ne négligera rien pour obtenir l'approbation du Sénat, que suivra immédiatement la ratification du Président. Le Congrès s'assemble en Décembre, et le tout pourra être terminé vers la fin de ce même mois.

Si les partisans de Monsieur Crawford suscitent des obstacles au Sénat, comme cela me paraît extrêmement possible, pour ne pas dire vraisemblable, le Secrétaire d'Etat mettra tout en oeuvre pour les applanir.

Il doit désirer le succès de la chose autant, ou peut être plus, que nous; son crédit et ses espérances en dépendent en partie. Il observa en souriant avec un air de complaisance, que notre Convention avait précédé celle de l'Angleterre et m'explique les difficultés existantes encore sous ce dernier rapport.

Il ne m'offrit point de me donner connaissance de la Convention, mais la gazette du Gouvernement ne tardera point à y suppléer. A l'inconvenance d'une pareille publicité se joint encore celle non moins forte du raisonnement accompagnant l'exposé de cet acte.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXXII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{14}{26}$ Août 1824.

A Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Dans une Conférence que j'ai eue le 23 Août avec Monsieur Adams,¹² il m'a répété, que d'après lui, la ratification de ce côté ci ne rencontrerait

¹¹ Convention respecting boundary, navigation, and fishing on the northwest coast. Malloy, II. 1512-1514. For the history of its negotiation by Middleton, see *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V. 457-462.

¹² Reported also in *Memoirs*, VI. 409-411.

point d'obstacle. Il ne m'a fait aucune observation quelconque, ni sur les articles ni sur le protocole, de façon que nous sommes, je pense, sûrs du Gouvernement et c'est un point essentiel. Il pensait que l'affaire n'éprouverait point de difficultés au Sénat, en ajoutant néanmoins que, comme je devais le savoir, il était positivement sûr qu'il n'y aurait pas d'opposition de la part de ce Corps, la quelle, dans un tel cas, ne porterait nullement sur le Gouvernement étranger, mais sur des intérêts particuliers. Je lui observai et il convint, qu'une pareille consolation n'était pas d'un grand poids. Je remarquai au Secrétaire d'Etat, que l'esprit de conciliation et les concessions ayant été poussés de notre côté aussi loin que possible, toute difficulté pour la ratification produirait infailliblement à Petersbourg une sensation très peu désirable. Il s'en montra pleinement convaincu. Monsieur Adams parut attacher un juste prix à ce que je lui communiquai touchant la manière dont l'Empereur avait envisagé le mémorandum confidentiel du 27 Novembre dernier, et m'assura que cela serait également agréable au Président, lequel a appris avec beaucoup de satisfaction la conclusion de notre Convention. J'ai eu généralement tout bien de me louer du ton qui a régné dans cet entretien et Votre Excellence peut être assurée que je ne négligerai rien de ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour remplir les intentions de Sa Majesté Impériale. Il est permis de se flatter que tout ceci sera terminé vers la fin de la présente année.

TUYLL

XXXIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 23 Août
4 Septembre 1824

A Monsieur le Comte
de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte,⁴³ . . .

La commission Anglo-Américaine établie par la convention de St-Petersbourg pour la fixation des indemnités relatives à la dernière guerre,⁴⁴ a repris ses travaux le 24 Août. Il paraît, Monsieur le Comte, que jusqu'à cette heure les Commissaires respectifs n'ont pu réussir à s'entendre sur la valeur moyenne des esclaves. Il faut néanmoins espérer, qu'ils finiront par en venir à un accommodement.

Le vaisseau de ligne Américain le Franklin, commandé par le Comodore Stéwart, est arrivé dernièrement à New-york, après une croisière de près de trois ans dans la Mer Pacifique.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Mr. Adams a quitté Washington le premier Septembre. Il sera de retour au commencement du mois prochain. J'ai été prendre congé de ce Ministre la veille de son départ.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte
de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

⁴³ The omitted paragraphs consist of second-hand news from Mexico and South America.

⁴⁴ See p. 343, *supra*, and note 65.

XXXIV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{30 \text{ Septembre}}{12 \text{ Octobre}}$ 1824

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte,

Monsieur Parish, attaché à la Légation Britannique à Washington, et qui se rend en Angleterre pour aller rejoindre Monsieur Stratford Canning à St. Pétersbourg, a eu la complaisance de se charger de remettre la présente expédition à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur Comte de Lieven. Monsieur Parish est un jeune homme très estimable et qui joint à beaucoup de modestie des connaissances et des talents distingués.⁴⁵

Le Président des Etats Unis et Monsieur Adams sont à Washington depuis quelques jours. Je n'ai encore fait qu'entrevoir le dernier.

Monsieur de la Fayette arrive ici aujourd'hui. Il a été faire dernièrement une visite à Joseph Bonaparte en sa maison de campagne entre Trenton et Philadelphie. Celui-ci s'est excusé envers le Général Français, au dire des gazettes, de ne l'avoir pas prévenu, sur ce que cela l'aurait entraîné à des réunions publiques, qu'il était de son devoir d'éviter. Il dit de plus qu'il se trouvait dans l'adversité et l'infortune, tandis que le Général la Fayette était comblé d'honneurs et de gloire bien mérités.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur le Comte, d'envoyer à Votre Excellence un extrait du "National Journal", feuille qui est considérée comme un des organes du Secrétaire d'Etat, se rapportant à une invitation adressée aux officiers de la Marine Française pour assister à une fête donnée en l'honneur de Monsieur de la Fayette, laquelle ils ont déclinée.⁴⁶

Madame Adams m'avait envoyé hier une carte d'invitation pour passer cette soirée chez elle, afin de m'y trouver avec Monsieur de la Fayette. J'ai exprimé mes regrets de ne pas pouvoir me rendre à cette invitation. La même chose a eu lieu pour Monsieur le Baron de Maltitz et Monsieur le Comte de Medem,⁴⁷ qui ont réglé leur conduite sur la mienne.

La fièvre jaune a fait et continue à faire de grands ravages à la Nouvelle Orléans. Charlestown a de même beaucoup souffert de ce fléau, et l'on n'a pas de nouvelles positives que la maladie ait diminué d'une manière sensible dans cette dernière ville.

Monsieur Levett Harris est arrivé depuis peu à Washington.⁴⁸ Il a commencé par me parler de son affaire et j'ai cru m'apercevoir qu'il aurait désiré que je me misse à cet égard plus en avant que ma situation ne me semble le comporter. Je lui ai fait sentir que je ne pouvais que me renfermer dans les bornes, qui me sont tracées. Je pense, en effet, qu'il faut éviter soigneusement de se constituer une espèce de témoin à décharge devant les tribunaux de ce pays, pour devenir ensuite l'objet des invectives des journalistes qui écriront dans un sens opposé, et qu'un tel rôle n'est aucunement de ma compétence. Il a dîné chez moi.

⁴⁵ Henry Parish had been Canning's private secretary in Washington.

⁴⁶ *National Journal*, October 12, 1824. Invitation to "the French officers of the squadron now in Hampton Roads, to attend the celebration at New York on the 19th inst. They have declined—they cannot come—the squadron must sail between the 15th and 20th instant. Such is the amount of the answer which has been received to the invitation from the *Admiral*, as we have been informed."

⁴⁷ Attachés of the legation.

⁴⁸ Leavitt Harris had been American consul at St. Petersburg. His suit for slander, against W. D. Lewis, has no public importance.

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On m'a dit qu'Achille Murat a fait une acquisition en terres dans la Floride aux environs de St. Augustin.⁴⁹

J'ai présenté hier Monsieur le Comte de Medem à Monsieur le Président des Etats Unis, qui l'a reçu avec la politesse et la bienveillance qui lui sont propres.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

XXXV. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON 30 Janvier
12 Février 1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte

Monsieur le Secrétaire d'Etat Adams a été élu par la Chambre des Représentants, le 9 Février, Président des Etats-Unis, et il entrera dans l'exercice de cette charge le 4 Mars prochain.

Comme il n'y avait point eu de majorité absolue des suffrages électoraux en faveur d'aucun des prétendants, Messieurs Adams, le général Jackson et Crawford, qui en avaient réuni le plus grand nombre, furent les trois Candidats entre lesquels la Chambre des Représentants, votant en cette occasion par Etats et non par têtes, était appelée par la Constitution à faire un choix.

Une séance unique, celle du 9 Février, décida la question, Monsieur Adams ayant obtenu les votes de treize Etats, ce qui formait la majorité requise, fut déclaré Président. De ses compétiteurs le Général Jackson avait réuni sept votes, et Monsieur Crawford quatre.

Un témoin oculaire m'a dit que cette opération intéressante s'est effectuée avec le plus grand calme. Les tribunes ayant donné au moment de la nomination de Monsieur Adams quelques témoignages de satisfaction suivie d'une expression en sens contraire, l'Orateur de la Chambre ordonna que les tribunes fussent évacuées, ce qui s'exécuta immédiatement.

Ce même jour Monsieur Calhoun, secrétaire du Département de la guerre, fut déclaré élu, en suite d'une majorité absolue des suffrages des électeurs, Vice Président des Etats Unis.

Monsieur Appleton, secrétaire de la légation Américain à Madrid,⁵⁰ est arrivé ici, chargé de dépêches pour le Gouvernement.

D'après une lettre que j'ai reçue de New-York, Monsieur le Gentilhomme de la chambre Comte de Medem a reçu l'ordre de s'embarquer dans ce port le 8 Février n. s. pour Liverpool.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

⁴⁹ Prince Achille Murat, eldest son of the general and of Caroline Bonaparte, settled in fact near Tallahassee.

⁵⁰ John J. Appleton of Massachusetts.

P. S. C'est sur le paquebot Corinthian, Capitaine Davis, que le Comte Medem devait prendre son passage.

Ut in litteris

TUYLL.

XXXVII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{28 \text{ Février}}{12 \text{ Mars}}$ 1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte
de Nesselrode

J'ose, en vue du bien du service, soumettre à Votre Excellence l'idée qu'une assurance de la satisfaction, qu'a causé à Sa Majesté l'Impériale l'élection de Monsieur Adams, et une expression de sentiments de bienveillance de la part de notre Auguste Maître à son égard, produiraient le meilleur effet possible sur l'esprit du nouveau Président. Ma dépêche sub No. 27 ne renferme aucune exagération et je considère comme utile tout ce qui peut contribuer au maintien des rapports satisfaisants subsistant entre les deux Gouvernements. Je suis d'ailleurs d'opinion que le choix de Monsieur Adams est ce qui nous convenait le mieux, les autres compétiteurs auraient été gouvernés par les relations étrangères et l'on ne sait ni par qui, ni comment.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte
de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL.

XXXVI. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON $\frac{28 \text{ Février}}{12 \text{ Mars}}$ 1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte,

Ayant demandé et obtenu une audience particulière de Monsieur le Président des Etats Unis, récemment élu, je me rendis chez lui aujourd'hui, le 9 Mars, accompagné de Monsieur [Messieurs] les employés de la Légation Impériale.

Je dis à Monsieur Adams que j'étais venu pour avoir l'honneur de lui offrir mes félicitations et mes hommages respectueux à l'occasion de sa nomination. Que j'étais d'avance persuadé que l'Empereur mon Maître apprendrait cet événement avec une satisfaction sincère, et qu'il y verrait un présage de très bonne augure de la continuation des rapports de bienveillance et d'amitié mutuelle qui subsistent heureusement entre les deux Gouvernements. J'ajoutai que je serais toujours infiniment flatté d'être l'organe de ces sentiments de Sa Majesté Impériale, et je finis par me recommander à la bienveillance de Monsieur le Président en l'assurant que je m'efforcerais toujours de la mériter.

Monsieur Adams répondit à ce que j'avais eu l'honneur de lui dire, d'une manière particulièrement satisfaisante, et je reconnus dans sa réponse et dans le ton dont il la prononça, l'expression d'un sentiment profond et de la plus grande sincérité.

Je joins ici cette réponse, telle que le Baron de Maltitz s'est attaché à la consigner fidèlement peu de moments après que nous eûmes quitté Monsieur Adams.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération

Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

(*Speech de Monsieur Adams.*)

C'est avec beaucoup de satisfaction, Monsieur le Baron de Tuyll, que je reçois en vous le Représentant de l'Empereur Votre Souverain, et je Vous remercie des félicitations que vous voulez bien m'adresser au sujet de mon élection par mes concitoyens.

J'apprécie hautement les sentiments pour ce pays que vous m'avez exprimés au nom de Sa Majesté Impériale, et j'espère que les relations d'amitié, qui jusqu'à présent ont subsisté entre les deux nations, seront non seulement maintenues, mais qu'elles prendront de l'accroissement. Nous désirons bien vivement de cultiver ces relations avec un Souverain, qui depuis son avènement au Trône, a donné tant de preuves de bienveillance au Peuple des Etats Unis. Je vous prie de lui faire connaître ces sentiments et de l'assurer que les vœux que je forme à cet égard, sont d'autant plus chers à mon cœur, que j'ai eu autrefois le bonheur de me trouver placé en son Auguste présence.

XXXVIII. TUYLL TO NESSELRODE.

WASHINGTON le ¹⁴/₂₆ Mai 1825

A Son Excellence

Monsieur le Comte de Nesselrode

Monsieur le Comte

Des journaux de Colombia du 7 Avril mandent que le 1^{re} du même mois le Colonel Campbell, commissaire de Sa Majesté Britannique, était arrivé à Bogota. Ces feuilles ajoutent qu'elles sont autorisées à annoncer, que les Colonels Campbell et Hamilton sont investés de plein pouvoirs pour conclure avec le Gouvernement de Colombia un traité de commerce et de navigation.²¹

Le projet de former dans la Colombia une société biblique, avait pleinement réussi, après avoir rencontré d'abord quelque opposition.

D'après le *Colombiano* du 6 Avril, Bolivar avait pour la troisième fois envoyé sa démission de la place de Président, mais les deux chambres du Congrès, dans leur séance du 8 Février, s'étaient refusées à l'accepter.

Bolivar a convoqué pour le 10 Février le Congrès *Souverain constituant* du Perou.

Les forteresses de Callao dans ce dernier pays, et de St Jean d'Ullua au Mexique, continua[ie]nt d'être au pouvoir de Sa Majesté Catholique. Il paraîtrait que le Général Olonetta, qui commande un corps dans le Haut Perou, n'a point capitulé avec Bolivar, et qu'il compte au contraire se maintenir dans sa position.

Il avait été grand bruit dernièrement d'une expédition, qui devait sortir de Campêche, sous les ordres de Général Santa-Anna, et était

²¹ See Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics*, pp. 207-211.

destinée à envahir l'île de Cuba. Les feuilles Américaines contenaient même une proclamation, que ce Général avait adressée à cette occasion à ses troupes. Mais cette nouvelle est aujourd'hui contreditée et l'on prétend que ce plan a été abandonné.

Voici une peinture de la Colombie, puisée dans une lettre de Porto Cabillo du 20 Avril et adoptée dans le *Daily National Journal* du 24 Mai.

"Tout est militaire ici, et la loi martiale y est en vigueur. Le Gouvernement est pauvre, et absorbé dans la recherche des moyens nécessaires pour l'état de dépenses et la solde des troupes. Le pouvoir est entre les mains de gens, dont beaucoup ne sont pas propres à s'acquitter de leur tâche. Les habitants sont de vrais Espagnols, avec tous leurs goûts et leurs préjugés, employant une grande partie de leur temps à chômer les fêtes de leurs Saints. Nombre de leurs officiers supérieurs, tant de l'armée que de la marine, sont des nègres qui étaient esclaves avant la révolution. Les natifs de l'intérieur, dont se composent les troupes, ressemblent beaucoup aux Malais. Ce lieu est le dépôt naval. Il s'y trouve en ce moment deux flottes de guerre, leurs officiers sont principalement des Américains et des Anglais, et la plupart ne faisaient pas une grande figure dans leurs propres pays".

Le *Daily National Journal*, qu'on peut considérer comme une sorte d'organe du Gouvernement, a annoncé que les Ministres étrangers, résidents à Washington, avaient été offrir leurs félicitations à Monsieur Adams à l'occasion de son élection présidentielle; et que Monsieur Addington, chargé d'affaires de la Grande Bretagne, s'était de même rendu chez le Président pour lui adresser les félicitations de son Gouvernement. Le "*National Intelligencer*" a donné simultanément le même article. Les gazettes, opposées à l'administration, n'ont pas manqué de faire des remarques, aussi amères qu'injustes, envers Monsieur Adams, sur un témoignage aussi simple des égards, qui sont dus à sa place et à sa personne.

Le Général Américain Atkinson et le Major O'Fallon se rendent comme agents du Gouvernement des Etats Unis auprès des nations Indiennes, établies sur le Haut Missouri, pour conclure avec elles des traités de paix.²² La feuille qui contient cette nouvelle ajoute, que d'après ce qu'on apprend, une force militaire respectable accompagnera cette mission et donnera ainsi aux Indiens une idée de pouvoir du Gouvernement Fédéral et des moyens qu'il possède de les châtier. Ce traité, dit encore la même Gazette, les placera vis-à-vis de nous dans de nouveaux rapports dont on leur expliquera sans doute l'étendue, leur faisant connaître les obligations qui en résultent et ils seront prevenus des conséquences qu'entraîneraient pour eux la violation d'un traité. Notre commerce de pelleteries est important et ces arrangements ont pour but de le protéger contre un esprit généralement hostile que les Indiens de ces contrées ont manifesté à notre égard depuis plus de deux ans.

Les Indiens Creecks, de Géorgie, ont assassiné en Avril dernier l'un de leurs premiers chefs, nommé Mac-Intoch,²³ qui avait pris une part principal à l'arrangement conclu avec le Gouvernement des Etats Unis, en vertu duquel ils doivent quitter cet état pour aller s'établir sur les rives du Mississipi. Le Gouverneur de la Géorgie, a donné aux commandants des troupes l'ordre de les tenir prêtes à marcher où le besoin l'exigera.

²² General Henry Atkinson and Major Benjamin O'Fallon; their expedition went up to the mouth of the Yellowstone.

²³ William McIntosh, half-breed chieftain; see Miss Abel's "Removal of the Indians", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1906, I. 346.

Les journaux marquent que le Lieutenant Washington,⁸⁴ de l'armée des Etats Unis, a fait récemment voile de Boston pour l'île de Malte, de l'intention de se joindre aux Grecs. Un Sieur Allen, citoyen de ce pays, qui se trouvait avec eux, avait été passer quelque temps à Smyrne, où il avait logé chez Mr Offley, le Consul des Etats Unis, sa santé étant dérangée. Il se disposait à retourner en Grèce, son compatriote et son compagnon de voyage le Sieur Ruddock était par contre d'intention de se rendre de nouveau en Amérique.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec une très haute considération, Monsieur le Comte

de Votre Excellence

Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur

TUYLL

PS. La frégate colombienne "Venezuela" est entrée dans le port de New York. Il s'est trouvé à son bord Don Francisco Lopez, porteur d'un traité de commerce et d'un arrangement pour la suppression de la traite des noirs, avec ce Gouvernement.

Le Daily National Journal d'aujourd'hui renferme un ordre du jour du Général Paéz, commandant en chef le Département la Venezuela, par lequel il révoque la loi martiale qui avait été mise en vigueur par lui le 29 Novembre dernier.

Ut in litteris

TUYLL

XXXIX. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.

ST. PÉTERSBOURG, le 4. 7bre 1825.

Rec. 28 Novembre
10 Décembre

Monsieur le Baron,

Il est essentiel que Vous ayez connaissance d'une démarche, qui vient d'être faite auprès du Ministère Impérial par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

Dans la dépêche, dont copie ci-jointe, que Mr. Middleton a eu ordre de nous communiquer, Mr. Clay, en développant les opinions du Cabinet de Washington sur la situation du midi de l'Amérique à l'égard de sa métropole, et sur les dangers que courent les îles de Cuba et de Puerto-Rico, a émis l'idée que la Russie intervint dans ce différend, et que ses bons offices fussent employés à terminer la lutte des colonies Américaines, à conserver au Gouvernement de S. M. Catholique celles qu'il possède, et à l'indemniser de la perte des autres.⁸⁵

Nous avons fait à Mr. Middleton, d'ordre de l'Empereur, la réponse dont j'ai l'honneur de Vous transmettre ci-près une copie. Elle n'a pas besoin de commentaire;⁸⁶ mais l'Empereur désire que Vous y puisiez des arguments pour démontrer d'une part à Mr. Clay qu'il nous était impossible de faire un autre accueil à ses propositions, et pour lui prouver combien Sa Majesté Impériale se plait à reconnaître la confiance et

⁸⁴ Presumably Lieutenant William Thornton Washington of Virginia.

⁸⁵ This celebrated despatch, Clay to Middleton, May 10, 1825, had already been communicated to Tuyl by Adams, May 19, 1825. *Memoirs*, VII. 8. For its text, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, XIII. 403-409; it is not in the *American State Papers*.

⁸⁶ Nesselrode to Middleton, August 20, 1825; *ibid.*, XIII. 410-412.

l'amitié, que Lui témoignent les Etats Unis; combien Elle souhaite que ces sentimens président toujours aux relations existantes entre les deux Puissances.

Recevez, Monsieur le Baron, l'assurance de ma considération très-distinguée.

NESSELRODE.

A Mr. le Baron de Tuyl etc. etc.

XL. NESSELRODE TO TUYLL.

Dépêche chiffrée du Comte de Nesselrode.

Rec. ^{28 Novembre.}
10 Décembre.

St. PÉTERSBOURG le 4 Septembre 1825.

La dépêche par laquelle je vous communique aujourd'hui les propositions qui nous ont été faites par Mr. Middleton au sujet de la pacification des colonies Espagnoles ainsi que notre réponse préalable, venoit d'être approuvée par l'Empereur, lorsque j'ai reçu vos rapports en date du ¹⁴ Mai et du ^{12 Juillet} ~~29 Juin~~ jusqu'au No. 59 inclusivement. Nous ne pouvons qu'applaudir à la prévoyance qui vous a déterminé à faire part au Comte de Lieven des ouvertures du Cabinet de Washington;⁵⁷ et quant à la manière dont vous y avez répondu provisoirement, vous verrez qu'elle s'accorde sous tous les rapports avec la teneur de la note que nous avons adressée à l'Envoyé des Etats Unis; et qu'en conséquence elle ne peut qu'obtenir le plein suffrage de S. M. Impériale. Dans ses entrevues avec vous, Mr. Adams vous a déclaré que si les îles de Cuba et de Portorico devoient appartenir à une Puissance Américaine, les Etats Unis se verroient forcés d'y établir leur autorité. Pour vous faire apprécier cette assertion à sa juste valeur, il est bon de vous prévenir que d'après des renseignemens positifs que nous a donnés le Comte de Lieven, les Etats Unis et l'Angleterre sont tombés d'accord que, dans aucun cas, ni l'une ni l'autre de ces Puissances ne prendrait possession des îles de Cuba et de Portorico.⁵⁸ Nous croyons qu'il vous sera utile de connoître cette circonstance; et que sans laisser deviner les informations que vous posséderez à cet égard, vous pourriez, Mr. le Bⁿ, insister avec d'autant plus de force auprès du Gouvernement Américain, pour l'engager à user de tout son influence dans le but d'empêcher que les îles dont il s'agit, ne changent de domination.

⁵⁷ Adams, *Memoirs*, VII. 9, 10.

⁵⁸ Adams was far from being willing to bind the United States not to receive a Cuba made free by its own exertions.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography. By WALTER LEAF, Litt.D., Hon.D.Litt. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 406.)

A splendid book, splendidly written, printed, illustrated, and provided with maps. It speaks to us of Homeric scenery on the basis of a personal study of the Trojan ruins and the geography of the Troad, and is filled with the peculiar charm which comes only from such immediate contact with essential, out-of-door facts. Its message is the reality, not of Homer—for Mr. Leaf still has his opinion of the peaceful, restful attitude of mind, the simple faith, which "qualifies a man to swallow translations of the Phaistos disk and the authenticity of Dictys of Crete"—but of the Trojan tale; for the purpose of the book is to show that the development of the tale of Troy must have been conditioned from the beginning by the tradition of facts. The starting-point is the absence—almost complete—of "anatopisms" in the *Iliad*, in spite of its composite authorship. This points to a chronicle in verse contemporary with the war. The reality of the scenery suggests the reality of the action, and geographical conditions explain why the war was fought. A garrison at Hissarlik had, under the circumstances of early navigation, the power of closing the Hellespont and could thus force the trade of Greece and the Euxine to meet under its walls, and could fatten off their taxation, and the taxation of other trades which would be drawn to this mart. The catalogue of the Trojans shows, by its arrangement of the allies along four ancient trade-routes, a grasp of this situation which is a guarantee of its age and reliability; we have in it very old material, which has been only slightly reworked. For the Greeks the opening of the Hellespont—necessary to their eastern expansion—was the main motive for the war, though this does not exclude the probability that a point of honor was seized as the ostensible pretext. The picture of the conduct of the war—neither assault nor siege, but an effort to wear the enemy down by the stoppage of his revenue and the expense of the war—is in harmony with these conditions. Into this scheme enters properly the Great Foray of Achilles along the southern Troad, to which there are repeated allusions in the *Iliad*, and which was doubtless the subject of a separate episode or poem. Wherever we can test the story by confronting it with fixed conditions, we find indications that its basis is a tradition of fact, not a fiction.

In the main the argument of the book appeals to me strongly, and I am prepared to accept its conclusions. To be sure, I think that we must see more anatopisms than Mr. Leaf admits, though not to an extent which would imperil the validity of his argument. In part this comes from the fact that, even after studying his fourth chapter, I must agree with Robert's identification of the Skaian with the east gate, which Mr. Leaf calls an "ingenious but hopeless attempt". The claim of great antiquity for the Trojan catalogue should not occasion now the surprise which it would have caused a few years ago. The most serious difficulty raised by the book is how the original presence of the Lykians in the story is to be reconciled with the late date of all the episodes in which they figure. However that is a question for the future.

Two subsidiary questions—the Pelasgian Name, Sestos and Abydos—are the subject of the final chapters. Etymologically the connection of Πελασγοί and πᾶς is impossible. We must start with *πελαγο-κοι, "the people of the plain" (cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, I. 16 ff.), an etymology which could be combined with Mr. Leaf's main idea of the shifting meaning of the name.

Finally, it is well to call attention in the REVIEW to the third chapter, which Mr. Leaf modestly describes as little more than a précis of Doerpfeld's great work. It is the only satisfactory account of the remains at Hissarlik which we possess in English, and will undoubtedly prove, as the author hopes, sufficient for any but the specialist. Indeed, on account of its clearness and its power of grasping the essential points, it is a valuable approach to the question for anyone.

G. M. BOLLING.

La Bretagne Romaine. Par FRANÇOIS SAGOT, Docteur en Droit et ès-Lettres. (Paris: Fontemoing et Cie. 1911. Pp. xviii, 417.)

THIS book is the first comprehensive treatment of Roman Britain from the standpoints of both history and archaeology. While not definitive, the prospects of excavation considered, it constitutes a basis for any future work in the Romano-British field. Almost every phase of the subject is covered, the only noticeable omission being a statement of the scanty information forthcoming on British Christianity.

The work, which is provided with one good map, consists of four parts: I. The conquest, Caesar to Agricola; II. The second and third centuries, chronicle of events, provincial administration, military organization, and municipal traces; III. The fourth century, chronicle, new régime, period of highest prosperity probably 250-350, decline after Julian, and the evacuation; IV. The economic and social life.

The conclusion is a neat recapitulation, reproducing however, occasionally in an unqualified form, views advanced more guardedly in the course of the book. There is an index of proper names, but no general index.

The subject offers great temptations to building much on little. M. Sagot is cautious, but yields sometimes, as in his defense of the imperial policy in occupying Britain. In default of one good reason for Claudius's action, he advances half a dozen poor ones.

Resting on poets' fancies, he follows Mommsen's view that Augustus considered Britain's subjugation necessary. Von Ranke regarded Claudius's move as "contrary to the principles of Augustus and Tiberius", and M. Sagot himself is half minded to prefer Strabo's authority to that of Horace (p. 25).

Of the Trinovantes he says (p. 32): "Leurs souverains étaient à même d'exercer en Gaule une influence sérieuse", but offers no proof. "La Bretagne constituait un foyer d'influence celtique", etc. (p. 32). M. Sagot goes on to express his faith in a Druidism centred in Britain. On the point of a Celtic race in Britain Tacitus was less clear than Mommsen or Sagot. Of British Druidism, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Layamon do not seem to have heard. The divergent theories of the Druidists are all so weakly based that the historian may disregard Druidism as a cause of the invasion of 43.

Economically and strategically the conquest was a mistake; its apologists must make much of racial and religious notions that did not occur to the ancient historians of the event. M. Sagot admits (p. 75) that Domitian and his successors were influenced by the opinion which Appian expresses, that Britain was an unprofitable possession. He is also somewhat impressed with the obvious fact that the occupation of Britain spoilt Augustus's plan of the Elbe frontier (pp. 31, 38, 368). It weakened the empire without compensation. As various writers, *e. g.*, Furneaux and Jung, have indicated, Gaul was pacified long before 43 A. D. and was then in full tide of Romanization; no ancient writer says that Britain was conquered in order to secure Gaul.

While not going so far as Mr. Haverfield in his general conclusions on the degree of Romanization effected in Britain (pp. 232, 276, 374), M. Sagot occasionally in following his monographs drops exaggerated observations on this head. Really the "Romani" were always a people apart in Britain, as Gildas and Bede indicate. Some Celts spoke Latin as some Hindus speak English; but not a Latin inscription found post-dates 408 A. D. (p. 381).

A vast industry has been put into the book. Some remarks on Irish invasions of western Britain are interesting. The account of the military organization and economic life is surprisingly full and marked by accurate and finished scholarship. It is a great book, comparable to Cagnat's work on Roman Africa.

W. F. TAMBLYN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Histoire de la Politique Extérieure de la France. Par PIERRE CORBIN, Licencié ès-Lettres et en Droit. Tome I. *Les Origines et la Période Anglaise* (jusqu'en 1483). (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. 457.)

So far as this first volume of his work is concerned, M. Corbin has construed the words *politique extérieure* in a broad sense. Rightly conceiving that in a feudal state the policy of the king toward his greater vassals is strictly a foreign policy, M. Corbin has brought that field within the scope of his study. After tracing the history of Gaul and the Franks in brief outline, he begins his real task with the advent of the Capetians, and seeks to trace the broad outlines of their policy both in their dealings with the feudal states of France and with foreign powers. In this policy he discovers two main objects—to reconstitute the unity of France within, and to recover for her the national frontiers of the Alps and the Rhine. To judge from his introduction and conclusion, M. Corbin considers the question of the natural frontiers to be the dominating one of French foreign policy; but, as he repeats frequently in the course of this volume, in the period here treated the struggle with England is the factor of supreme importance. The bulk of the volume is therefore devoted to that topic. He has however endeavored to show clearly that, in the intervals of their work of internal reconstruction and of the struggle with England, the Capetian kings sought with considerable success to extend their frontiers both in the direction of Lorraine and in that of the old kingdom of Burgundy.

According to the plan which he has followed, M. Corbin takes up in order each phase of the Capetian foreign policy and treats it as an independent unit, tracing the Capetian policy in that field from the beginning to the end of the period chosen. Thus he passes in review successively the reconstitution of France by the Capetians, and their relations with the papacy, with the Empire, with England, and with the Orient. It is this attempt to give a broad view of the whole development of first one and then another phase of French foreign policy that is the purpose and the merit of the work. This method of treatment, while it has undoubted advantages, has corresponding disadvantages. The most obvious one is that the interrelation of the different phases of the policy is not always fully felt. Another is that it exposes the writer to occasional inconsistencies. Thus in the chapter on the reconstitution of France, M. Corbin strongly condemns the policy of *apanages* adopted by the later Capetians and the Valois; but when, in the chapter on the relations with the empire, he recurs to the same subject, he seems to defend and approve them.

In so broad a survey there will naturally occur many statements to which exception might be taken, and there will be many views advanced which every reader will not share. Thus, for example, while one may

admit that the policy of Louis IX. in concluding the peace of 1259 with England was mistaken—though much might be said on the other side—yet one can scarcely admit—bearing in mind the vain efforts of the French to drive the English from Gascony—that a very slight effort on the part of Louis would have been sufficient to expel them. Nor does this seem in harmony with M. Corbin's view of the feelings of the English people. In most cases, however, M. Corbin, where his view is at variance with those usually held, brings a considerable number of facts to his support and makes out a case which, if not conclusive, is, at least, well worthy of consideration.

To judge by the bibliographies which accompany each chapter, the work is based on a wide reading of the literature upon the subject available in French and English. As the author's aim is not to investigate details but to present broad outlines, minute examination of original sources is scarcely called for. On the whole the work has been prepared with care, and is a suggestive contribution to French history. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes will continue the history of French foreign policy down to modern times.

FRANK BURR MARSH.

The Origin of the English Constitution. By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Professor of History, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press. 1912. Pp. xii, 378.)

THIS book contains some four chapters of new material. The rest consists of reprints of various articles published at different times in the *English and American Historical Reviews*. There is no objection to such republications. Quite the contrary, to those who do not have access to the files of the reviews, such a collection from the published writings of a master is of inestimable value; and even for one who has either of the great *Reviews* at his elbow, it is much, not only to have such a collection in handy form and properly indexed, to consult, but also to get the last words of the author; as in this case, such reprints are really new editions.

These essays, moreover, are not mere fugitive pieces but are closely related and designed to set forth in a progressive whole, the author's theory of "the feudal origin of the English Constitution", and the function of the Great Charter in effecting "the transition of the fundamental principle of feudalism into the fundamental principle of the modern Constitution" (preface, p. vii). This thesis is restated again and again and with admirable clearness and boldness. Thus on page 167:

We now return to a more specific formulation of our original problem: from what source and at what time did there enter English history as an active influence the principle that there is a body of law above the king which he may be compelled to obey if he is unwilling to do so? And, it may be added, how did there begin a line of experimenting in the embodiment of this principle in institutional forms? It is the thesis

of this book that this principle was derived directly from feudalism, and that it was the work of the Great Charter of 1215 to transfer it from that system then falling into decline to the newer governmental system just beginning to be formed, and in so doing to give it its first institutional expression. In this fact we have, I believe, the explanation of the influence and significance of the Great Charter in English history.

Again on page 185, the author thus sums up his argument:

The origin of the English limited monarchy is to be sought not in the primitive German state, nor in the idea of an elective monarchy or a coronation oath, nor in the survival of institutions of local freedom to exert increasing influence on the central government. Though all these were contributory, combined they could not alone have produced the result. The principle which moulds and shapes all elements into the great result came from feudalism.

Stated simply and baldly, this thesis compels us in our study of the English constitution to discard what we have been so long and patiently learning about the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic elements of the constitution and begin with the Norman Conquest. "The history of the English Constitution upon English soil begins with the Norman Conquest" (p. 16). The Anglo-Saxon institutions are valuable in the study of local institutions, but what the author calls "the central government" is feudal and Norman in its origin.

Right here, however, the critic naturally will raise his first question: Is this hard and fast differentiation between local and central government sound in any treatment of English institutions of the later eleventh century? But, granting that such a sharp distinction of powers and functions be possible, when we ask for the data to prove that this so-called central government of the Norman-Angevin kings is all Norman and all feudal in its origin, the author admits that he has no data for proof, that his contention is a matter of faith, and that this faith is born of a prepossession that has grown out of his earlier studies of Continental institutions. Here certainly, Mr. Adams opens himself to a far more serious criticism, that of method: his structure rests not upon data but upon a theory.

His argument may be briefly put: In the later twelfth century we find much in the English central government and much in the feudal institutions of England that may be paralleled in Normandy and on the Continent. Hence these institutions came from Normandy and the Continent, and must have been introduced into England by the Norman Conquerors. The weak place in this argument is of course our ignorance of Norman institutions prior to the twelfth century—an ignorance which the author frankly confesses (p. 21, note 10). Three generations after the Conquest, we begin to know something of contemporary Norman institutions, and the resemblances are striking enough, particularly in some matters of administrative machinery and in procedure. But the contrasts are even more numerous and quite as striking. Nor is the reservation of the author sufficient; these contrasts are not all of local

institutions, moreover, even of the resemblances, where positive evidence fails, it is dangerous to dogmatize. The danger of such a method has been too often exposed, to need further comment here.

But aside from the question of method, the author shuts his eyes to the continued influence of Anglo-Saxon legal ideas after the Conquest. Further he assumes that feudalism in England in the eleventh century was the same in kind and influence as feudalism in the thirteenth century. It is true that he admits that Anglo-Saxon legal ideas had their influence and that feudalism in England also had developed between the times of William I. and John, but he makes no effort to discover the influence of the one or to contrast the feudalism that was introduced by William and the feudalism that forced John to grant the charter. In other words, in his argument the author ignores his admissions and virtually proceeds upon the supposition that feudalism in its developed form had come in with William and his fighting barons.

Prepossessed by this idea, the author fails to interpret Magna Carta quite as signally as those writers whom he justly condemns, who used to find here the origin of the English Parliament or the trial by jury or the Habeas Corpus Act. No one, of course, will contest his statement that Magna Carta is a feudal document. The men who drew it up lived in a feudal age, thought feudal thoughts about feudal things, and expressed them in feudal words.

But the feudalism which they knew was a developing feudalism that had by no means reached its definitive form, and hence its customs were still subjects of dispute and of definition. It goes without saying that John was a wretched tyrant, but his tyrannies consisted quite frequently not so much in violating existing law or precedent, but like those of Charles I., in distorting law or precedent to justify what were virtually new exactions. In some cases at least, precedents were so deeply in conflict that the barons were not certain in their own minds as to the extent or the form of the demands which they should make upon the king. Hence the barons were engaged quite as much in reaching final definition as in restatement. And hence far more of the charter than the author admits is really legislative, in the modern sense.

Further, is not Mr. Adams himself quite as guilty of reading modern ideas into the Anglo-Norman constitution of the twelfth century when he speaks of "the Curia Regis" or "the Magnum Concilium", or of "the legislative power of the Common Council of the realm"? He is conscious that his language does not exactly harmonize with his data, and he tries to save himself by the terms—"the little Curia" and "the Great Curia"—in this relation, creatures of the imagination quite as much as Kemble's "Ga".

Now the mischief lies in this modern and English use of the definite article, implying that there were legislative or administrative institutions such as *the* modern Parliament or *the* American Congress existing by the side of the king and with him sharing particular functions of administration or legislation. Now *the* king was the only permanent and

continuous institution of the Anglo-Norman constitution. It was "of him" as Elizabeth would say, to summon a council of his grandees, a council little or big, as he needed their help in administration or their moral support in some new or arduous enterprise. But such a council was transient; its life ended with the session.

Again an objection may be raised to the narrow limits which the author sets to constitutionalism. As he develops his subject, constitutionalism, he apparently limits it to the legislative function of government and his argument may be thus stated: Until a legislative body is developed by the side of the king, with co-ordinate and checking powers, there is no constitutional government. Hence the development of the English constitution is the development of this legislative body. And since no such body existed in the Anglo-Saxon period, and did exist in the Norman-Angevin period, particularly exemplified in the commune concilium of the Great Charter, and since this body is of Norman feudal origin, therefore the English constitution did not exist in the Anglo-Saxon period and is of Norman feudal origin.

Now the military, the administrative, and the judicial functions of government are quite as important from the point of view of the constitution as the legislative function, particularly at a time when all institutions are more or less in germ, and the differentiation of function exists only in suggestion. Moreover, at such a time the recognition of new functions of government or the creation of appropriate constitutional machinery, whereby such functions may be legally and regularly exercised, is quite as frequently suggested by existing and already defined institutions. Now the long recognized authority of customary law, even over an Anglo-Saxon king, the early exemplification of the representative idea in the ordinary machinery of police and justice, the recognition of a dichotomy of the great landholding class at the Exchequer table, applied under the constant pressure of the ever increasing fiscal needs of the thirteenth-century king in an ever widening sphere of governmental activity, and reacted upon by the natural reluctance of human beings to pay, if not new taxes, at least taxes under new and unwonted conditions, certainly produced the public law of the thirteenth century. That this law is expressed in feudal language, must not confuse us nor lead us to ignore the deeper currents of legal thought and relations that have their sources far back in the twilight region of Anglo-Saxon law—currents that were still powerful in the thirteenth century and continued to flow long after feudal form and feudal expression had been discarded with the panoply of the feudal knight.

The author supports his thesis by a broad range of first-hand acquaintance with ancient texts and modern authorities, material which he uses with characteristic accuracy and discrimination. But does he mean what he says on page 115, when speaking of the Assize of Clarendon he declares that its purpose was "to find out who had committed a given crime"? Again on page 119, does not the author confuse the fore oath with the trial by compurgation?

The book is difficult of review. There are many statements in which the reader is by no means ready to accept the author's position as final; and yet the opportunities for misunderstanding and misconstruction are so many, that the reviewer before raising a question in print, would much rather sit down and have it out with the genial author. This doubt of the reviewer is due not to ambiguity or inadequate statement, but wholly to the nature of the argument which has led the author frequently into the discussion of obscure texts where the use of a word or the turn of an expression may easily lead to misunderstanding or unintentional misrepresentation on the reviewer's part. The book is of gravest import and in the future must figure conspicuously in the literature of this important subject.

BENJAMIN TERRY.

The Holy Christian Church: from its Remote Origins to the Present Day. By R. M. JOHNSTON. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. xx, 331.)

Nor for the intellectually and morally sluggish, to whom religion means "the maximum of respectability with the minimum of thought", does Professor Johnston write, but for the reflective and courageous minds, responsive to the thought of the age and seeking to bring religion into harmony with it. Nor is it to add to the "glut of critical snippets" of the specialists that he takes pen in hand, but to "seize the interrelation of a hundred factors, not to manufacture a new formula". That the studies upon which the author's reputation has been built scarcely suggest his peculiar fitness for this latest undertaking, he himself acknowledges. But "the history of the Christian Church as a whole has never been written"; it is time we had a synthesis; and Professor Johnston feels impelled to essay the task. His point of view is "that of today" (of the elect, however, not of the "ordinary" or "average", intellect), that is, "evolutionary and fluid", a point of view with which Christianity is not in harmony, because it still bears the stamp fixed upon it by inelastic decadent Hellenism and rigid Roman imperialism. The materials, for the greater part, are evidently drawn from secondary authorities, and the book abounds in misconceptions and misstatements which even a cursory reading of the sources would have obviated. But in such a study, says the author, the essential thing is the proportion, to be maintained at all costs. How does he maintain it? Ten chapters for the first six centuries, three chapters for the Middle Ages, three chapters for all the rest. Truly, "many mangled remains have been strewn along the path" ("with compunction and regret", pleads the author). Up to Gregory I. he steers his craft, bearing a carefully selected cargo, with a fairly steady hand, keeping well clear, however, of the theological current, which is, after all, only a "theoretical incident". But from Gregory on, the word is "rush", and we are carried along at a bewildering rate. We realize that the proportion is the essential thing and must

be maintained; but somehow at the end we have a suspicion that in our haste the proportions of some essential things were not clearly seen. The method may demand "the elimination of every detail that does not bear directly on the evolution of large movements or ideas", but when foreshortening passes into distortion it tends to discredit the method. The "elimination" is employed chiefly in the medieval and modern periods; in the earlier period the author is at great pains to trace out antecedents and analogies of Christian beliefs and practices, apparently under the impression that analogy is fatal to the claim of genuineness. The historicity of Jesus is admitted, "reluctantly"; but his personality virtually disappears under the solvent of universal elements, and Jesus becomes little more than a composite myth. Similarly, the Christianity of the age of Constantine is nothing but "an imperial label" for all the faiths, superstitions, and cults previously known under a variety of names. The one generous admission with respect to early Christianity is that it met the needs of conscience, but this was more than offset by medieval Christianity, which established a "collective conscience" controlled by "miraculous deceptions played upon superstitious fear", a tyranny scarcely weakened by the Reformation.

So, eliminating and condensing, "hazarding" here, "conjecturing" there, availing himself of "facts inferential" and "facts controversial", pausing not to verify details of name, date, or citation, the author hastens on to the last chapter (which is possibly his best), and to the final conclusion that while "the central legend of Christ" still holds because of its note of humanitarianism, the Church is crumbling away; just how far it has declined we cannot yet tell. But the future will not be satisfied with Christianity; its religion may be a form of humanitarianism, perhaps Comtism, when "the myth of a redeemer god (becomes) affixed to Comte".

THEODORE F. COLLIER.

The Lascarids of Nicaea: the Story of an Empire in Exile. By ALICE GARDNER, Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. (London: Methuen and Company. 1912. Pp. xiii, 321.)

UNDER "the Lascarids of Nicaea" Miss Gardner includes Theodore Lascaris I., his son-in-law John Vatatzes, and Theodore Lascaris II.; but her work includes still more, as it begins with the Fourth Crusade and recounts the events down to the recapture of Constantinople by Michael Palaeologus. This is because the author thinks of the Nicene Empire as "*the* Empire in Exile", and believes that "the Lascarids had throughout a guiding idea which they pursued without intermission: the recovery of the natural capital of the Empire, the 'Queen City' Constantinople." Hence she is inclined to exalt them at the expense of their less fortunate rivals.

The early portions of the book are disappointing. Chapter I. is an apology for writing about the subject at all, and an attempt to prove that

Byzantine history is interesting and important; apparently Gibbon's judgment of the Byzantine Empire still weighs upon the spirits of the English writers. The second chapter discusses inadequately the preliminary causes of the collapse of Constantinople in 1204. The third chapter takes up the Fourth Crusade in seventeen pages; if Miss Gardner had used Luchaire's *Innocent III*, she would probably have made a different presentation of the subject. These first three chapters might well have been omitted. The rest, five-sixths of the book, is the best account of the subject in English. It "is a study chiefly from the Greek point of view", and shows throughout extended work in, and knowledge of, the Greek sources. It deals with the intellectual, ecclesiastic, and artistic interests of the age, as well as with the political and military events. There are some excellent illustrations, a map, two genealogical tables, and an appendix containing a dozen pages of illustrative extracts from the Greek sources.

Unfortunately, the work is marred by many minor faults. The proof-reading was extremely defective: some Greek proper names are spelled in two or more ways; the list is too long to quote, but as examples may be cited Irene (p. 154) and Eirene (p. 155); Berroea (p. 209) and Berrhoea (p. 226); Poemanenum (p. 84), Poemenenum (p. 85), and Poemaeneum in the index. Western names meet with strange treatment: Ducange becomes DuCanoye (p. 255); Gregorovius becomes Gregorius (p. 270); and Ersch becomes Erz (p. 145); Sanudo is quoted as Saunto (p. 150), and Saluto (p. 250); and there are many other instances. The author does not seem to be familiar with the Western sources; e. g., Albericus Monachus Trium Fontium is one of her main authorities (which, by the way, he ought not to be), but is cited in the bibliography as Albertus-Fontellanensis; on page 142 as Albericus Tresfontanensis, and in the index as Albericus Fontellanensis; the edition used is that of Leibnitz, published in 1698, instead of Scheffer-Boichorst's masterly edition in the *Monumenta*. The citations of authorities are not uniform, and follow no definite rules; e. g., on page 85, the same work is cited differently in succeeding notes; Acropolita is sometimes cited by his full name, elsewhere as Acrop., Acr., or Ac.; and the same is true of almost all the other authorities. The bibliography is very incomplete, and does not contain important works referred to in the text. The titles are inexact, and are not cited with any uniformity. Krumbacher is mentioned as "indispensable", but with no reference to edition or date of publication. The index is defective.

These faults are dwelt upon because they are indicative of similar faults in the narrative itself which cause doubt of its trustworthiness in details. And examples might be given of numerous errors, for the most part petty; but, in the judgment of the reviewer, this would be unjust, because the work as a whole is better than the many errors and slips would indicate.

D. C. M.

Italy in the Thirteenth Century. By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. x, 440; 395.)

THE title of Mr. Sedgwick's book *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, is as tempting as it is ambitious, and the author's attempt to give not only a record of political events, but also a survey of religious movements, and literary and artistic developments, makes one hope well of a book of over eight hundred pages, of which seventeen are devoted to a bibliography. But, even if there are so many phases to treat of, the arrangement of the book is unnecessarily confusing. Beginning with an introductory chapter showing the condition of the Occident at the time of the election to the papacy of Innocent III., the continuity of the narrative of the career of the great pope, which goes through the sixth chapter is broken by a chapter on Joachim of Fiore. Then follow two chapters on St. Francis and the foundation of his order, of which we hear no more until the end of the first volume, where we find two chapters on its progress and its Joachimite followers. The career of Frederick II., and his quarrel with Gregory IX., is continued in a chapter upon his relations to the tyrants of the north, only after we hear of Provençal poetry and the Sicilian school, the Lombard communes, particularly Bologna, its constitution, university, and some of its professors. We take leave of Frederick once more to be told of Italian art, and of its development in painting, mosaic, and decoration. Then comes an account of the emperor's struggles with Innocent IV. and of his last days, and then we are switched back to an account of Gothic architecture in Italy and of the Franciscans. One chapter tells us of the fate of Conrad, and the volume ends with an account of Tuscan politics through the battle of Montaperti and a chapter on Florence.

We start our meanderings in the second volume with a chapter on what the author unfortunately calls the intermediate poets, which is followed by a chapter on Venice. The account of the French conquest and its consequences, and the relations of its leaders to the popes from Urban IV. to Boniface VIII. is interrupted by chapters on St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventura. Then the internal politics of Romagna, Tuscany, and northern Italy take up two chapters, followed by one on manners and customs, two on sculpture, and two on painting. One chapter is devoted to the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*, another to Latin literature, and the volume closes by telling of Boniface's attempt to arrogate to himself the power of the world, and its disastrous anti-climax with the French raid to Anagni.

As one would expect in a work of such scope, written by any one but a profound scholar, there is only a superficial treatment of the many problems involved, and a failure to notice a number of others. The author has a first-hand acquaintance with only a very few of the original sources of the period; references in the bibliography to such collections as the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte*, and the *Registers*

of Honorius IV., and of Nicolas IV. as edited by Prou and Langlois, mean nothing, when it is all too evident that the author has not used them to advantage. Further, his acquaintance with studies on the many phases of his subject is purely accidental. Again, a lack of information in regard to the history and literature of the earlier periods, which form the background of his subject, leads him to judgments which lack perspective. A few specific instances will show why the book cannot be recommended as an historical introduction to Dante, the purpose for which it was written.

To outline Innocent III.'s political career with the guidance of Luchaire's masterly monographs is an easy task, but to write of his biblical allegorical interpretation that "even the sacerdotal mind, trained in canonical exegesis" could use such methods (I. 25), shows that the history of interpretation is a dark page for Mr. Sedgwick. His unfavorable judgment upon Innocent's sermons, based upon their contents, shows at once a perfect ignorance of the literature devoted to medieval sermons, and of medieval rhetorical ideals, of which some of Innocent's sermons are perfect specimens. A page is taken to sentimentalize on the hymn "Ave mundi spes Maria", as the work of Innocent, who certainly did not write it, just as the well-known "Ubi sunt" is ascribed to Jacopone da Todi (II. 316), and the eleventh-century "O Roma nobilis, orbis et domina", found only in a single manuscript, is cited as a pilgrim song of the late thirteenth century (II. 326).

If there is one subject the author is less prepared to treat than any other it is the beginnings of Italian poetry. There is no attempt to show its origin, or to study its progress in form or thought: not a word said as to whether the Sicilian school of poetry had its source by direct contact with Provence, or through the medium of northern Italy. It is unfortunate that Mr. Sedgwick places Guido among the "intermediate poets" (II. 16-22), stating that "after Guinizelli the time was ripe for the *dolce stil nuovo*" (p. 21), a subject which he considers much later (pp. 276-296). The Bolognese poet was the founder of that school of poetry, which owed to him its philosophic basis, which was neither Platonism nor the spirit of chivalry of Northern French literature (p. 288).

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Procès de Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc. Raconté et traduit d'après les Textes Latins Officiels par JOSEPH FABRE. Nouvelle édition. In two volumes. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1913. Pp. xvii, 360; 415.)

M. FABRE is already known as the translator into French of the *Procès de Condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*. Like that, this work will be of slight use to the perfect scholar, but of great convenience to the general student interested in readily getting behind authorities to the sources. It is a translation of the *Procès de Réhabilitation* in 1455-1456.

The translator has taken some liberties, pardonable in a work intended to be popular. The original text of the *Procès-Verbal* is unmethodical and diffuse, in striking contrast with the text of the first trial, which is a masterpiece of legal method and procedure. Instead of following the sequence of the original in every case, the parts of the process have been rearranged in a logical and more natural order and much that is of interminable length and sterile has been excised. Important passages, however, are literally translated, the rest abridged. At the same time the testimony has been changed from indirect to direct discourse in harmony with modern procedure.

There is no need in this place to emphasize the historical value of this famous document. As a source for the history of Jeanne d'Arc it has been assiduously mined. But there is much evidence in it of another sort, the value of which has not yet been fully appreciated. Students of medieval legal theory and procedure will find it a mine of information. For example: the right of a defendant to have counsel (I. 28); the question of secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction (I. 100, II. 5-6); the validity of casuistic evidence (I. 33-45); the extortion of evidence, notably in the case of the abjuration (I. 341-353, II. 15, 34, 52, 72, 114, 130, 141); the use of undue influence with judges (II. 118-119); the textual exactness of the original process (I. 30, 343-344, II. 8, 27-30, 41-46); the intimidation of witnesses (I. 330, II. 15); reluctance of a witness to testify (I. 340); the value of hearsay evidence (I. 314). There is interesting matter on all these questions. One interested in the history of the formation and preservation of archives will relish the varying evidence as to the method in which the original trial was recorded, the Latin redaction of the original record, the preparation of duplicate copies, and the disposal of them in various archives.

Folklorists should give attention to the evidence of the twenty-three simple peasants from Domrémy, three of them priests. The fairy-tree near the village bulks large in their testimony. Invariably they call the girl Jeannette. There is considerable evidence that already, within twenty-five years of her death, the mists of time were beginning to transfigure and legend beginning to form, in which Merlin's prophecies are confused with her achievements (cf. I. 150, 173-175, 190, 281-282, 354, II. 97, 119). Frequent allusion throughout the evidence to the Begging Friars recalls the late Siméon Luce's thesis that it was probably from the Franciscans that Jeanne d'Arc got her first impressions of patriotism, for these wanderers, touching the life of the common people at all points, keenly felt the wrongs of France and did much to waken the sentiment of nationality. Parenthetically it may be observed that modern Franciscans are still loyal to the Maid's memory (see the profound study of the RR. PP. Belon and Balme of the Friar Preachers upon *Jean Bréhal, Grand Inquisiteur de France, et la Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris, 1893) and that the ancient feud of the Dominican-Franciscan yet persists, the former opposing the canonization of Jeanne d'Arc as a reproach to their order, which played so invidious a part in the inquisition of 1431.

The temptation to make the Maid and not the book the subject of this review is great, but space forbids. Several appendixes contain eleven alleged letters of Jeanne d'Arc which M. Fabre believes to be authentic (no. 11 certainly is not, and the others ought to be subjected to sterner criticism than has yet been applied to them); a long series of turgid stanzas by Christine de Pisan, written in commemoration of Charles VII.'s coronation in 1429; essays on the *Mystère du Siège d'Orléans*; the false Jeanne d'Arc; the alleged secret of the king, etc.

Although a legitimate and valuable historical work, these two volumes yet have a *tendenz*. M. Fabre is a zealous advocate of the cult of the heroine of France and has written and spoken much in favor of the movement. When recently he was awarded the Prix Guizot by the French Academy for his literary labors in behalf of the canonization of the Maid, he was not unaptly described as "the lay-canonizer of Jeanne d'Arc".

J. W. T.

Genoese World Map, 1457. Facsimile and critical text incorporating in free translation the studies of Professor Theobald Fischer. Revised with the addition of copious notes by EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D. (New York: The American Geographical Society and the Hispanic Society of America. 1912. Pp. 66.)

DR. STEVENSON has here reproduced, with as much accuracy as modern methods of photography and printing permit, one of the great maps depicting the known area of the earth prior to the discovery of America. Other reproductions have been attempted and sketches have been printed in the works of several cartographers, who without exception have recognized the importance of the map as an historical document. There would be no point in making merely another reproduction, but to issue a facsimile, more accurate in general contour, in detail, and in coloring than any previously published is to make a distinct contribution to the source-material of history. The evidence on the reproduction itself, and presented in the critical text, is conclusive that every care has been taken. Therefore, it is only fair to Dr. Stevenson and to students of history, to correct a statement made in print some time ago. It was stated with considerable care that "the map as issued is a facsimile, not of the original map, but of a recent 'hand-colored parchment copy', apparently based on photographs, with those portions of the map restored where the original colors have almost disappeared." If this were true the facsimile would be useless as an historical document. But fortunately it is the exact antithesis of the fact.

On page 3 of Dr. Stevenson's text, he says, "Through the kindly offices of Professor Gustavo Uzielli, the Italian Government gave courteous consent to have the map photographed, and at the *Istituto Geografico Militare* this part of the work of reproduction was done by its expert photographer." The photographic negatives were made in 1905,

and are now in the possession of Dr. Stevenson. The plates were not retouched. They do not, of course, indicate the colors except by shading. The colors were reproduced by the printers from a copy made by an artist in Florence, and the colors on this copy were compared with those on the original map by Professor Uzielli and Dr. Stevenson. The greatest care was exercised not to "restore" the map either as to outline or color. Until the art of color photography and color printing has been perfected it will not be possible to produce a more perfect facsimile than Dr. Stevenson has given us. The previous reviewer puts in quotation marks the words "hand-colored parchment copy". The quotation is apparently from the List of Illustrations from the critical text. Here it is plainly stated that the *frontispiece* is a reproduction, not of the original map, but of a "hand-colored parchment copy in the collection of the author". This *frontispiece* measures only 4 by 7 inches, while the facsimile of the original map measures 18½ by 33 inches.

The facsimile is issued under the joint auspices of the American Geographical Society and the Hispanic Society of America, and constitutes publication number 83 of the latter society. The critical text accompanying the facsimile makes a volume of sixty-six pages. Based on the studies of Professor Fischer in his *Sammlung Mittelalterlicher Welt- und Seckarten Italianischen Ursprungs*, supported by the researches of Wuttke, Lelewel, and others, and annotated and put into connected form by Dr. Stevenson, this text may well be said to contain the sum of our knowledge of the Genoese World Map. It has the advantage of being interesting reading, reflecting and explaining the curious geographical lore exemplified in the map. It contains a wealth of learning expressed in brief sentences, each of which could not have been made without patient and scholarly research. The text is divided into four sections. In the first of these, the map is discussed as a whole, dealing with the date of the map, the general sources of the map-maker's information, the importance of the map as a document belonging to the period of transition from the old to the new knowledge of the earth, the shape of the map compared to others of the period, its scale and the method employed in drawing it, and the symbolism used in its ornamentation.

The three other chapters of the text discuss in detail the sections of the map on which Europe, Asia, and Africa respectively are shown. Translations of the legends are given, and in nearly every case these are traced to the source from which the unknown map-maker drew them. Curious beliefs and misconceptions, indicated on the map, are explained.

In dealing with a document of this period, especially one poorly preserved and containing illegible inscriptions, there is abundant opportunity for conjecture, and some of those made by Dr. Stevenson are admitted to be in need of proof; but both the facsimile and the accompanying text are wholly creditable to American scholarship and to the societies under whose auspices they are issued.

FREDERICK C. HICKS.

De Orbe Novo: the Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera.

Translated from the Latin with notes and introduction by FRANCIS AUGUSTUS MACNUTT. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. vii, 414; v, 448.)

THE learned and very competent author of a moving and serious study on Las Casas, of an excellent translation of the *Letters of Cortes*—scholarly on account of the notes which accompany it—and of a captivating life of this conqueror, has just added to his work, already so remarkable for its value and usefulness, a fourth production which is equally important and which will be still more useful to students of the history of the discovery and conquest of America: it is an English translation of the *De Orbe Novo* of Peter Martyr.

There only existed of this work, which is one of the fundamental sources of the history of the first relations of the Old World with the New, an incomplete and insufficient English translation which was no longer read by anybody and which hardly deserved to be. It might even be said that the *De Orbe Novo* was only known to a few scholars when Humboldt showed its importance, and that only in our time has it been brought within the reach of the general public. In fact, it was not until 1892 that Joaquin Torres Asensio gave the only Spanish version of it that we have, and only in 1907 was Mr. Gaffarel able to have printed his French translation upon which he had worked for so long.

The English translation which I have the pleasure of presenting to the readers of our REVIEW is therefore the last comer, but it bears comparison with that of Mr. Gaffarel, which Mr. MacNutt himself has justly qualified as admirable.

Like the venerable dean of the University of Marseilles, Mr. MacNutt knows his subject thoroughly, and, like him, he has, combined with careful accuracy, that simplicity and lucidity of expression which renders easy and agreeable the reading of the most replete works, among the number of which is the *De Orbe Novo*. From the point of view of the translation, there is therefore nothing to improve upon in this last work of our author.

As regards the distribution of the subjects, we cannot see why the chapters have no titles. There are none, it is true, in the Latin text, but abundant marginal notes are found which answer the same purpose. As has been done by Mr. Gaffarel these indications might have been referred to an analytical table, which is also lacking in the American version. These summaries are invaluable for the reader whose researches they facilitate in distinguishing, one from another, the points dealt with.

There might also be said something with reference to the notes. In a work like that of Martyr who, writing rapidly, only said what he had learnt, and where, consequently, omissions and errors are frequent, notes are indispensable and one need not fear to multiply them. This fear has doubtless stopped Mr. MacNutt who has shown himself too concise on this point. Most of his notes are judicious but many of them are insufficient.

Thus, since it was our author's plan to indicate the other sources of information which we possess on the voyages and discoveries which Martyr recounts, it should have been done completely. For the discovery of the Canaries, for instance, it is not Bergeron, Clavigero, and others who should be quoted but the original account of Bethencourt written by Boutier and Le Verrier, of which we have two texts, published for the first time, one by Gravier, the other by Margry. For the third voyage of Columbus, the reader is referred to Oviedo, to the son of the Discoverer, and to Simon Verde, but not to Columbus himself, by whom we have an account of this voyage, and not to Las Casas who wrote another one.

On the other hand, the inscription on the tombstone in the Cathedral at Seville should not have been quoted, for it is without value. This inscription, which is not of the period, is swarming with errors; one reads there, for instance, that Columbus made three voyages instead of four to the New World, and that he died August 20, 1506, whilst at that date he had been dead three months.

Another objectionable note is the one stating that in the time of Columbus "maps and globes show the Asiatic continent in the place actually occupied by Florida and Mexico". This is quite inexact. If we except the map, known as that of Toscanelli, which should be considered to-day as apocryphal, the Globe of Behaim, which is of 1492, is the only cartographic document prior to the discovery of Columbus which shows Asia in the spot on which America is situated. The map of Ruisch which is cited by Mr. MacNutt, is of 1508 and reflects Columbus's own ideas. As for Ptolemy, far from having shared the ideas of some ancients on the great extension of Asia towards the East, he energetically contested that cosmographical heresy.

The bibliographical indications also leave something to be desired. They might be more explicit, more critical, and sometimes more exact. The Spanish translation of *De Orbe Novo* by Asensio (Madrid, 1892), does not figure therein, any more than the original folio edition of *Opus Epistolarum* (Alcalá, 1530), which is preferable to that of 1670. No mention is made therein of the sixteen chapters of Thacher on Martyr which form the first part of his *Columbus*. That amiable compiler was, it is true, quite uncritical, but as his work supplements that of Mr. MacNutt, for the letters of Martyr, which are the necessary complement of the *Orbe Novo*, it would have been well to indicate it. Notice again that d'Avezac never bore the name of Paul; his name was simply d'Avezac. The collaborator of Mr. Gaffarel, for the translation of Martyr's letters, was named Louvot and not Sourot. The author of *Les Hommes Illustres de l'Ordre des Dominicains* was the P. Touron of which the printers have made Tourow.

These criticisms are happily the last that I have to make. They are besides not very serious and leave to the work all its value. By the method displayed in its composition, by the clear simplicity of its style, as well as by the care which the author has taken to render exactly the

thought of Martyr, this annotated translation of *De Orbe Novo* is worthy of its author, who has prefaced it by an interesting introduction in which Peter Martyr is presented to the reader in the moral and intellectual circle in which his character was formed. It is terminated by a very full alphabetical table of contents.

In its material execution it is a fine book, of the kind appreciated by amateurs of good taste; clear print, light, strong paper, severe and learned illustrations, and elegant in form. From this point of view the work does credit to the large and long established firm of publishers to whom we are indebted for so many fine publications.

HENRY VIGNAUD.

Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. By FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Education, Ohio State University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xi, 226.)

THIS is a useful little book of a type which ought to be more common than it is. It introduces to people who might otherwise remain ignorant of him one of the great men of the world, who has exercised a larger influence on human progress than others whose names are better known.

It is not an original treatise. To compare, for instance, its chapter entitled the Breach with Aristotle with the first seventy-five pages of Waddington's *Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits et ses Opinions*, published in 1855, is to perceive that the writer follows it very closely. Of the fourteen citations given from Ramus or his adversaries all are found in Waddington. But many people will read Mr. Graves who would never hear of Mr. Waddington and one could not follow a better authority.

The book may be divided into three parts. The first is an introduction on the Times of Ramus, contained in eighteen pages. The second part consists of the life of Ramus of about one hundred pages in three chapters entitled the Breach with Aristotle; Professor in the Royal College; Conversion, Persecution, and Death. The third part gives, in about one hundred pages, an account of the reforms in education advocated by Ramus and ends with an estimate of the Value, Spread, and Influence of Ramism. Of these parts, the first is the least valuable. It suffers from over-condensation and, perhaps for that reason, contains several slight errors.

It is not entirely true, as stated on page 6, that in "the Netherlands, France, and England humanism passed over into the Reformation". The Jesuits distinctly took up the New Learning, as against the Old, in their great design of educating the members of their society and the future rulers of Europe. There was a part of the transalpine humanism—men like Montaigne and Rabelais—which never went into the Reform either Catholic or Protestant. It is a doubtful statement to make that "without the aid of the independence and individualism that had been growing up in England as the concomitant of humanism, even the king

could not have successfully contested with the pope". Most of the people who backed Henry VIII. knew nothing of the Renaissance, and Thomas More, its most brilliant representative in England, died on the scaffold in opposition to the king.

Nothing like a thousand Huguenots were massacred at Vassy. The Huguenot account (*Mémoires de Condé*, III. 124) states that there were between fifty and sixty killed. There were four outbreaks of civil war during Ramus's life: 1562, 1567, 1568, 1572—not three. There is a similar slip in the statement that "the Guises were in control of the government during the first three years of Charles's reign". Until the outbreak of civil war, they were struggling, and part of the time in vain, to retain any influence at all.

These are perhaps hypercritical notes. The book is a useful little treatise and fulfils well its purpose of introducing Ramus to English readers.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

"*Mes Loisirs*" par S.-P. Hardy: *Journal d'Événements tels qu'ils parviennent à ma Connaissance (1764-1789)*. Publié d'après le Manuscrit autographe et inédit de la Bibliothèque Nationale par MAURICE TOURNEUX et MAURICE VITRAC. Tome premier, 1764-1773. (Paris: Picard et Fils. 1912. Pp. xxi, 445.)

STUDENTS of eighteenth-century France have long known of the existence of the manuscript journal of Hardy, the Paris bookseller and publisher. Some have utilized the bulky volumes in the manuscript section of the Bibliothèque Nationale for studies on the period from 1764 to 1789 and have even published extracts from them. Others have turned their leaves regretfully, hoping for the day when they would be done into print and become accessible to all investigators. The hope has, at last, been realized. Picard and Son have included the Hardy manuscripts in their new series of *Mémoires et Documents relatifs aux XVIII^e et XIX^e Siècles*. The editors are MM. Tourneux and Vitrac. The first volume, which has just appeared, contains in condensed form about one-third of the whole work, covering the period from 1764 to 1773. Condensation was necessary, as the publisher would not undertake to publish the entire manuscript. To save as much space as possible for the text, notes were almost wholly dispensed with. This course was a wise one. The work will be used largely by investigators who would willingly forgo notes for the sake of the text. The journal is not a connected narrative, but simply a succession of daily jottings, recording the happenings largely in the world of the court, the parlements, and the Church, with frequent notes on the weather, the price of bread, and bread riots. It would prove dry reading to one not possessing sufficient knowledge of the period to furnish a setting for these unconnected items. The condensation must have been a difficult and disagreeable task. The bulk of it was done in the first two-thirds of the printed volume; the

last third contains practically no condensed items. With the exceptions of copies of documents already found elsewhere in print, no items have been totally excluded. The existence of the condensed matter is indicated in the proper place in the text, by a brief reference, printed in smaller type and included in brackets. One wonders at times what principle guided the editors in their work of condensation. Many of the long paragraphs printed intact, dealing with the death and burial of ecclesiastics, might have given way advantageously to passages dealing with the struggle between the king and the parlements, the bread question, and the punishment of crime. Helpful as the printed volumes will be to the investigator and grateful as all scholars must feel to the publishers for printing so large a part of the manuscript, they will not free the investigator from the necessity of consulting the manuscripts for many items which have been briefly referred to, but which are clearly important. The investigator of the struggle between the monarchy and the parlements; of the condition of the lower classes, of the price of bread and bread riots, and of the attitude of the government and the public toward this great food problem; of the luxury of the upper classes; of crime, its trial and punishment—the investigator of these topics will want to utilize every crumb of evidence contained in Hardy's journal. He will not find it all in the printed volumes, but they will indicate what has been omitted and where it is to be found. It would have been helpful to the investigator if, when a document was omitted, a reference had been given to the printed work in which it is to be found. This could have been done without increasing the size of the volume. The manuscript is anonymous, but there is abundant internal evidence pointing to Hardy as the author. Besides the references given by M. Tourneux in his introduction, valuable data will be found on pages 98, 111, 152, 182, 202, 244, 256, 265, 288, 291, 293, 297, 301, 310, 322 in support of the authorship of Hardy.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, Membre de l'Institut. Tome II. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1912. Pp. 538.)

THREE years have elapsed since the author published the first volume of this encyclopedic work. At that time we gave an outline of his standpoint and aims. His sound and trustworthy method, his dispassionate judgment, his sympathy, and his skill as a writer met with our fullest commendation. In all these respects this volume is a worthy successor of the first, surpassing it however in the interest of the subject-matter.

The period covered in this volume extends from October 1, 1791, to the spring of 1793. Within these months pregnant events follow swiftly upon the prelude so carefully studied in the first volume. Of these events by far the most important are of course the passage of the law against the priests and the two vetoes of the king. This struggle of the

legislative power with the executive culminated on June 20, 1792, when the vacillating and distracted king exhibited a startling and unexpected degree of courage utterly inconsistent with his previous conduct.

The careful reader will observe how stage by stage the tide of insurgency rose; how the new patches on the old institutional garments had rendered those vestments weaker instead of stronger; how utterly hysterical, unreasonable, and uncontrollable the radicals had become. The curtain rises on the first act in the drama of horror which culminated in the "Terrors", red and white. Among all the gilds of modern science none takes itself more seriously than that of the psychologists. One of these, a Frenchman, has recently published a small volume, stitched in a lurid paper cover, with the purpose of exhibiting the revolutionary epoch as one of irresponsible hysteria. It is a short shrift for madness, such a procedure; a necessitarian view of history which frees both nation and individuals from all moral restraint and holds them to no moral responsibility. Not so our author, who metes out in a calm and judicial spirit the praise and blame, the degrees of guilt and innocence, to all the parties concerned. There was a skein of facts and events so tangled as to make the detection of its elements excessively difficult; yet throughout there was a human will-power and an element of choice between good and bad behavior so distinct that the men of the day, the political actors on the scene, are to be reprobated for their guilt like any other criminals. The author's account of the September massacres is a clear statement of debit and credit: the Assembly was utterly craven, the Commune bloodthirsty, the priesthood impotent; and when Danton threw in his lot with the murderers of the Commune, it was because of his associations, his friendships, his interests, and his instincts. The analysis of Danton's character is a remarkable piece of work, whether it commands our conviction or not.

The chapter which narrates the deportation of the priests, the reaction of Parisian and provincial influences in the election and work of the Convention is, if anything, a more convincing and definitive discussion than that on the massacres. There is much new material in it, and the author finds in local archives illuminating facts. This of course has been rendered possible by the publications of local historians and of the *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* under the editorship of Aulard. These authorities serve also to explain more clearly than ever before, though they do not justify, the frightful laws passed by the Convention in 1793.

Something more than a third of the volume is devoted to what for American readers at least is the most novel portion of the author's subject, the insurrection of the Vendée, which was at first purely religious, a protest against radical oppression. But the people of the district were superstitious and hot blooded, could not be restrained from grave and unwarranted excesses, were delivered into the hands of inefficient and stupid leaders, and the rebellion finally became a plague spot where foreign emissaries exerted a disastrous influence.

The narrative is incomplete, closing with the defeat at Nantes and the death of Cathelineau.

Whoever is a seeker for weird and strange stories that are true, based on original research, contemporary authorities, and the sifting of evidence, should peruse these pages. Furthermore they are interesting not merely as human documents nor as curiosities of history nor as monuments of antiquarian research. There is much complaint among historical workers that the limited field of true history has been covered again and again. So it has, in various ways and from various points of view. Yet here is an instance of what we may style historical research in the sociological field, an instance which is an example. Hitherto the dramatic historians of the revolutionary epoch have written as if throughout that wild period Paris were the whole of France. Such studies as this compel the revision of such a judgment. The madness of the provinces, especially of the Vendée, proves not once but almost continuously to have been a reagent with that of the capital, to have been an historical force of the first magnitude.

As in the previous volume the religious element occupies the most conspicuous place—it is the religious history of the French Revolution we are reading—but as we advance we come to understand that this is not an adventitious emphasis; the political, economic, and social history of the time really turns about this as a pivot. The pivotal question for all Europe was peace or war, tolerance or intolerance, and what all Europe saw most distinctly in framing its judgment and forming its determination was the religious convulsion in France.

The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By WILLIAM FLAVELLE MONYPENNY. Volume II., 1837–1846. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. ix, 421.)

THE second volume of the late Mr. Monypenny's *Life of Disraeli* is much pleasanter reading than the first. By 1837 Disraeli had left behind him the squalid period of his existence during which he was purely an adventurer, and an adventurer not only in politics but also in finance. There was still a long distance to be travelled before Disraeli could reach the proud position of premier of a Tory government and trusted adviser of Queen Victoria. But on November 15, 1837, the date at which Mr. Monypenny's present volume begins, Disraeli took his seat in the House of Commons; and while there were still debts to be liquidated and long struggles for recognition to be fought, he could no longer be regarded as the charlatan and adventurer that even Mr. Monypenny's kindly pen could not disguise that he had been during the first period of his public life.

The second volume of Mr. Monypenny's unfinished biography may be divided into three sections; first, Disraeli's struggle for recognition in political life; secondly, his marriage and establishment socially; and thirdly, his triumph over Peel and his assertion of leadership of the

Protectionist wing of the Tory party. Mr. Monypenny gives a pleasant picture of Disraeli's courtship and married life. He is quite successful in disproving the theory that the marriage was simply one of convenience, either for money or for social recognition. He quotes largely from the letters of both Disraeli and Mrs. Disraeli to show the terms of friendship and confidence on which they lived, to illustrate the help and inspiration that Disraeli drew from his wife, and to prove Mrs. Disraeli's hearty devotion to the interests of her husband. It was no difficult task for Mr. Monypenny to convince his readers of the happiness of Disraeli's married life, for Disraeli was an attentive husband, and his biographer had ample material at hand in the immense mass of letters and writings carefully preserved by Mrs. Disraeli.

The struggle for recognition by the House of Commons was also a pleasant subject to treat. All readers enjoy the story of rapid triumph over great difficulties and of the adroitness and ability which were able to turn even defeat into subsequent victory. Sir Robert Peel quickly recognized the value and quality of the new recruit, and in the four years before the formation of his ministry in 1841, Disraeli was treated by Peel with marked courtesy and distinction. The most disagreeable incident in Disraeli's career belongs, however, to this period. This was his application to Peel for office in September, 1841, an application that, with or without Disraeli's knowledge, was reinforced by a letter from Mrs. Disraeli. Mr. Monypenny treats candidly and fairly this incident in Disraeli's life. It was nothing extraordinary that a young man who had shown marked ability in debate and who had been honored by particular notice from the leader of his party, should venture to remind Sir Robert Peel of his existence when the new cabinet was in making. The occasion for reproach came much later, when Disraeli was using all his powers of sarcasm and invective to attack Sir Robert Peel on his Irish Coercion and Corn Law Repeal policies. It was then that Sir Robert Peel alluded to the fact that Disraeli, who was then attacking him so bitterly, had "been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office". Disraeli in reply took the most discreditable step in his career. He denied point blank that he had ever made any application for place to Peel. The account of this incident given by Mr. Monypenny differs in no essential particular from Parker's story of it in his life of Peel published in 1899. Mr. Monypenny gives, however, a much fuller story of Disraeli's attack upon Peel and of the provocation endured by the Prime Minister before he made his retort. Peel's forbearance therefore in carrying the incident no further, in not substantiating his own statement against Disraeli's denial by the production of the letters, comes out even more clearly in this volume of the *Life of Disraeli* than in Parker's *Life of Peel*.

The two political novels, *Coningsby* and *Sybil*, are largely drawn upon by Monypenny both for the history of the period they cover, as this history was viewed by Disraeli, and more especially for the light they throw on Disraeli's opinions and ideals. The conception of the

Tory party—Disraeli disliked the term Conservative—which Mr. Monypenny builds up out of Disraeli's description in *Sybil* and from his speeches in Parliament is a conception which is more easily understood at the present day than in the years between the repeal of the Corn Laws and the end of the nineteenth century. In many respects Mr. Monypenny shows that Disraeli held views concerning government and the welfare of the nation far more modern than the then almost universally accepted doctrines of the Manchester School of Political Economy. The country has now swung around again to a conception of government as being responsible for the social and economic conditions in the nation at large, a conception which regards the well-being of the masses as the paramount concern of Parliament. In Disraeli's day it was generally held that the duties of government were mainly taxation and police, and that "hands off" was the safe and proper policy whenever industry or the relations of capital and labor were concerned. Disraeli maintained, with considerable truth, that it was the Tory party rather than the Whig and Liberal party that really concerned itself with the social miseries of the poor; but it is doubtful whether his conception of government by a territorial aristocracy, had that government not been swept away by county and parish government acts, would ever have insured to the people the moderate degree of social justice that is gradually coming in sight for the masses of the English people under a more democratic government than Disraeli was ever to witness in operation.

No one can close this second volume of Mr. Monypenny's great biography without the keenest regret that the author did not live to complete his task. Upon whomsoever the continuation of the work shall devolve it can scarcely be hoped that the volumes still to come will surpass in excellence of composition or in fairness of presentation this last and best of Mr. Monypenny's writings.

A. G. P.

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905. By Colonel CHARLES ROSS, D.S.O., P.S.C. Volume I. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. xxv, 490, 14 maps.)

THE author, who has already written several books of an historical and military character, brings to his task a trained hand and a close study of war in its broader aspect. He also displays a nicer sentiment and a fairer judgment than we usually find in an ally of one of the combatants, writing so soon after the events described.

Following approved models of military criticism Colonel Ross makes a praiseworthy attempt to view the subject from the point of view of each combatant in turn and then to follow with general criticism, based on later study of all that can be ascertained up to the present day. To do this requires access to much of the record on each side and familiarity with many personal accounts. And even with all of this at his hand there are pitfalls into which the military critic too often falls. It is

hard indeed to avoid the tendency to manufacture strategy, to ascribe a logical turn to events which really happened by the purest chance, to award undeserved praise or blame. It was thus perhaps that the great Jomini read the logic of events, and thought that he could find in the campaigns of Napoleon the kernel of his system and the secret of his art, which he published much to the surprise and amusement of Napoleon himself. How far Colonel Ross succeeds in avoiding these tendencies of military criticism, whether his sources of information are sufficiently ample and whether his analysis is always free from fallacy, we must leave to the decision of the reader, for it would be too large a task to attempt in a review. But this much we will permit ourselves to say, that when a general has a highly trained and devoted army whatever he does is right and military experts will usually seek for good reasons to justify any act; when his army is without interest in its cause, is filled with reserves who have not served with the colors for years, is commanded by men who are not trusted, and lacks essential equipment and armament—then whatever he does is wrong.

To those who have delighted in following the classic pages of Napier, Hamley, and Henderson, it will be somewhat of a shock to read such expressions as "nigger", "wriggle past", "wriggle out", "differ to", "in a nutshell", etc.

Although the first volume does not contain a full list of books consulted there are numerous foot-notes and references from which we may get a good idea of the sources of information. The small number of works mentioned is surprising; it is only about half a dozen in all. Many armies had carefully trained observers on the ground and many official accounts have been published, among which those prepared by the general staffs of the United States and of Germany are particularly good. There are also many valuable personal accounts by German officers, one by Captain Camperio of the Italian Army, several by war correspondents, all of which have been available for some years and each of which has a value by itself. The Japanese official account is a monumental work published confidentially about six years ago, rather hard to get hold of at that time, but probably not held back from English officers.

After all, the maps are the most important part of a military work. The reader in this age of many books must be assisted in every way and the map which supplies a graphic description saves much written narrative; it is more quickly understood and longer remembered. The book is illustrated by fourteen maps, following a general rule as to scale by making them about nine miles to an inch for operations and two miles to an inch for portions of the battles. Apparently for the benefit of the reader the maps are skeletonized, all topography being removed except what is absolutely necessary; elevations are shown in figures and passes by brackets. But it is doubtful if the reader will be satisfied. It is almost too much to ask of him to read about the great battles around Shushanpu and Maujuyama when they are shown on a scale of nine miles to the inch. Moreover the reader will lose time in looking for

names mentioned in the text and not found on the maps, sometimes spelled differently or attached to a Chinese word like Ho or Ling on one or the other but not on both. All maps so far published are apparently based on the Russian "two verst map" which was used by the Japanese as well as by the Russians during the war. There are portions which are entirely unreliable but on the whole it is a fairly good map. The magnificent Japanese maps now in existence are probably not yet available. A very instructive adjunct to the maps in the book is the printed statement in colors showing the troops engaged and their numbers and arms, on each part of the field. This feature alone would justify the retention of the book in a military library as it could only be duplicated by an immense amount of work. Nevertheless it is curious to see how different the estimates of numbers become when made independently. Thus the writer of this review, following sources of information not widely different from those of Colonel Ross, would credit the Russians with a superiority of about 15,000 combatants in the battle of Liao Yang. The Colonel gives them a superiority of 40,000 rifles and 110 guns.

There is a curious statement about a "tram line" built by Kuroki to carry his supplies, extended to Liao Yang after the battle of Mukden and since converted into a permanent railroad line. There was a very good "narrow gauge" railroad built by Kuroki for this purpose passing by Lienshankuan and Pensiho to Mukden, which is now, we hear, a great strategic line. We do not remember any other in that district.

EBEN SWIFT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Guide to the Study and Reading of American History. By EDWARD CHANNING, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, and FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. Revised and augmented edition. (Boston and London: Ginn and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 650.)

THIS book is a new edition of the *Guide to the Study of American History* (1897) by Professors Channing and Hart. With Professor Turner's aid it has now been revised and enlarged to the extent of 179 pages. Part I., on the status of American history and historical methods, and part III., on teaching and reading history, have few important changes. Part II., on classified bibliography, and parts IV. and V., containing topics for study, are on the same general plan as in the former edition. Ten new main topics have been added in the period before 1865, five of these being on the development of the West. In part VI., entirely new, there are thirty-four main topics (1865-1910) with numerous references, especially on economic development. The authors state their point of view in section 8, declaring that "the true American history must take into account all the great factors of the life of a community" and that the *Guide* "undertakes to analyze the whole chronological course of American history, keeping in mind all these various

points of view". Judgment on the merits of the book will centre on the question as to how well the authors have selected out of the mass of available material "that likely to be most immediately useful to the searcher into political, social, constitutional, and economic history". Other matters for comment are, first, the amount of over-emphasis or lack of emphasis on particular chronological periods, particular geographic sections, special phases of the life of the people, and secondly and more particularly, the scholarship of the book—accuracy of bibliographical data, mastery of the sources, omissions, errors, etc.

The *Guide* is defective in adequate topics and references for the study of the social, economic, and intellectual development of the colonies, as well as for the period 1783–1820. Conventionality marks this portion of the work. Surely after sixteen years of progress in historical thought, and in the study and writing of American history, one ought to find more new and suggestive topics, new points of view, and a different emphasis than before. Professors Channing and Hart, largely responsible for this portion of the work, have not the same viewpoint as that of Professor Turner, an illustration of the difficulties of divided authorship. For the new interpretation of American history we need for the period before 1820 more topics and references similar to those given by Professor Turner in his portion, the West and the period since 1865. From 1607 to 1760 the *Guide* gives seven main topics for the southern colonies, five for the middle, and *twenty* for New England. This is entirely out of proportion considering the importance of the economic and social development of the South, especially with reference to the rise of the plantation system, the institution of slavery, the development of commerce, and the great immigration movement of the eighteenth century. The three sections on the colonies in 1760, the people of the United States, 1607–1911, and colonial social institutions and slavery, are far too brief and general for the topics mentioned. Moreover, for an adequate study of our institutional history this book should have given more aid to the student of the background of American history, particularly those English institutions which most influenced our history.

Part II., classified bibliography, is defective with respect to titles of certain English bibliographical aids which would greatly help a student in tracing the phases of our history indicated in the preceding paragraph, such as Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Gross's well-known work, and Cannon's *Reading References in English History* (1910).

A most important omission is that of the "Bibliographies published by Historical Societies of the United States" in the *Proceedings and Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America (vol. I., part II., 1906–1907, pp. 146–157). This lists 159 bibliographies, many of which are not mentioned in the *Guide* though of great importance. An unpardonable omission is "Materials for a Bibliography of the Public Archives of the Thirteen Original States", by Miss A. R. Hasse (*Report of the Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1906, II. 239–572). This is the most important source

for a knowledge of the printed public archives of the colonies, such as codes of law, collections of records with analysis of contents, and other official documents, with much useful bibliographical information.

More space should have been given to manuscript sources, for section 49 on this topic is much too brief. Certainly mention should have been made of the important work of the Library of Congress with respect to the transcripts from manuscripts in English archives bearing on American history to 1783, numbering 88,000 foolscap folios in 1910, as also of the B. F. Stevens's "Catalogue Index" in the Library of Congress, which lists and gives abstracts more or less complete of some 160,000 documents in European archives bearing on American history, 1763-1784 (for description see *Report of Librarian of Congress, 1906*, pp. 27 *et seq.*). Section 42 on Collections of Public Records and Statutes is especially unsatisfactory and incomplete. For example, it would have been extremely valuable for students if mention had been made of all available reprints of the laws of the colonies. This has been done in some cases but omitted for example in the case of the Connecticut Code of 1650; laws of Georgia, 1755-1772, in volumes XVIII.-XIX. of the *Colonial Records of Georgia* (1910-1911); laws of Maryland, in the *Maryland Archives*; laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788-1802, in Chase, *Statutes of Ohio*; and in other cases.

Section 41, on Newspapers, has several errors. The papers are not arranged "in order of their first appearance", and some of the titles and dates are inaccurate. No mention is made of the facsimile reprint of the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of 1719-1722, in four volumes, nor is the title of this paper mentioned. Section 26, on Indexes to Public Documents, would have been more valuable if the various indexes to departmental reports had been mentioned.

Some miscellaneous errors noted are as follows: Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, is not reprinted in *Library of American Literature*, II. 279, as stated (p. 261) but only a short extract from the same. The codes of Massachusetts mentioned on page 279 do not "give a complete view of the legislation under the old charter", as the code of 1648 is not mentioned. The "colonial records" of South Carolina are not published by the state (p. 128). The thirty-six volumes of transcripts from the Public Record Office preserved at Columbia, South Carolina, would be a great addition to the public records of the colonies if printed. There was no edition of Rhode Island laws printed in 1764 (p. 145), but there were editions printed in 1719, 1730, and 1752, not mentioned by the authors, and the manuscript codes and digests of 1647 and 1705 have been printed, the latter a facsimile print. The code of 1719 has also been reprinted in facsimile, and the supplementary laws of 1730.

Much might be said of the excellencies of the book but these are well known through the wide use of the first edition. It is of course not only the best, but an indispensable manual for the student of American history, and contains an enormous amount of material skillfully arranged.

It does not, however, rise to the highest standards of scholarship, though one would expect authors of such high reputation to put out a more perfect book, especially in a revised edition.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

Guide to the Materials for American History, to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain. Volume I. The State Papers. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History, Yale University. (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. Pp. xi, 346.)

IN confirmation of the views more than once expressed by the late Professor Maitland, Professor Andrews is proving again that there is no method so thorough and effective for gaining a knowledge of the organization and workings of a government as the study of its archives. Their classification, the appearance of new groups among them, the process of regrouping and expansion which they have undergone, reflect the evolution of the system of which they constitute the official record.

In the installment of his *Guide* which has just been published Professor Andrews is concerned wholly with the State Papers. It is the first of two volumes which will be devoted to the description of the materials for early American history which are in the British Public Record Office. During the period of its preparation the colonial papers have been entirely reclassified, but all students of the period are to be congratulated on the fact that the delay which this involved has ended and all other difficulties involved in the task have been overcome. Now at last students of American history will have in their hands a comprehensive survey of this vast body of material with which they are very directly concerned.

The material which is described in the volume falls into three classes—the Foreign and Foreign Office Papers, the Home and Home Office Papers, the Colonial Office Papers. By way of general introduction, the development of the office of secretary of state is traced and the history of the State Paper Office is outlined. The fact is thus thrown into relief that this body of archives, of world-wide scope and extent, has resulted from the activity of the office of secretary of state. In no way could the wonderful expansion of that office since the time of Elizabeth be more impressively shown. Though extremely voluminous and of the greatest importance for European history, the Foreign and Domestic Papers are of minor significance for the purposes of this inquiry. They are important for the period of the Revolution and particularly for the war and diplomacy of that time, but for the history of the colonies the matter which they contain is fragmentary and supplementary rather than of prime importance.

The bulk of the volume therefore—from page 78 to the close—is devoted to the Colonial Papers. As an introduction to this Professor Andrews has prepared a comprehensive account of the Board of Trade,

especially from the point of view of the offices which it occupied, its establishment, and official routine. Its connection with the committees and boards of control which preceded and followed it and with the office of secretary of state has also been briefly described. This account, following in part the lines of older and now rare publications, prescribes a convenient and valuable addition to the literature of this subject, which fortunately is now increasing at a steady pace. In an appendix the passage of a patent through the seals is discussed in a similar fashion.

The bulk of the volume, of course, is devoted to setting forth the contents and arrangement of the Colonial Papers under their new classification. Of these, to most American students, the most important are comprised under Class 5, which includes Entry Books, Original Papers, Acts, Journals, Naval Office Lists, and Miscellaneous of Plantations General and of each of the colonies now forming a part of the United States, from 1689 to 1783. The material in this class fills 1450 volumes and bundles and the description of it occupies seventy-two pages of Professor Andrews's volume. Altogether the chief part of the general matter included here relates to the two decades following 1760 and especially to the Revolution and the controversy by which it was preceded. Under Class 1 are included the Colonial Papers from 1574 to 1688, but as they have all been abstracted and their chief contents published in the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, they call for no description in this report. From the material now included under these two classes our state and local historical societies have been drawing and publishing selected portions for more than half a century, but without regard to any general plan. Individual and local initiative have had absolutely free play, and it has not been guided by any comprehensive or accurate ideas as to colonial government or imperial policy. Large blocks of this material still remain uncopied and practically unknown. Under the new classification some notion of its extent as a whole can be gained, and to that end this volume will be a great help. Under Classes 323 and 324 (Plantations General) and Class 391 (Board of Trade Journal) is other material which has been and always will be drawn upon extensively by American students.

But to those who study the imperial system as a whole the material relating to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and the British West Indies is quite as important as any of the sources of the period. This will be found under various classes from 7 to 319. A description of a small part of the contents of the great series known as Board of Trade Commercial has also been included in this volume.

Finally, a key to the Colonial Office Papers has been carefully prepared and printed at the close of the report. In this the references according to the old and to the new classifications are printed in parallel columns, so that a comparison of the two in any case can readily be made.

H. L. OSGOOD.

Compendio de la Historia General de América. Por CARLOS NAVARRO Y LAMARCA. Prólogo de D. EDUARDO DE HINOJOSA. (Buenos Aires: Angel Estrada y Compañía. 1910. Pp. xxxii, 529.)

AMONG the history text-books used in the educational institutions of Latin America none, in the judgment of the reviewer, is comparable in potential value with this treatise by Dr. Navarro. Though adapted specifically to the "necessities of Argentine education" (p. xiii), the work ought to displace throughout Spanish-speaking countries all existing manuals on the period with which it deals. As a text-book, modern in design and execution, it needs only a careful revision to enable it to take rank with the best of the treatises of its class to be found anywhere. So far as handiness of form, compactness, light and flexible covers, clearness of print, quality of paper, and employment of colors in illustration are concerned, the work is altogether commendable. In some respects, indeed, the author appears to have followed, rather too zealously perhaps, the American article as his model. He is to be congratulated, also, on his familiarity with a large number of the best sources of information.

The initial chapter of the work contains a series of pedagogical suggestions explanatory of the purpose and method of treatment. Then follow 359 pages devoted to prehistoric and aboriginal America and 166 pages given over to an account of the process of discovery through the voyage of Magellan. Another volume will trace the history of the various colonies up to the attainment of their independence from Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal.

In the introduction, preface, and preliminary chapter attention is called to the defective materials and methods employed in the teaching of history in Latin America. The text-books are antiquated in form, suffer from dogmatism, inaccuracy, and partiality, and are overladen, besides, with details of scant educational value. None of them contains anything like a critical bibliography of the chief sources and secondary works. Accordingly the lessons in history amount to little more than a sterile exercise in memorizing, with the slightest possible regard for independent thought, or for investigation by the laboratory system.

Praiseworthy as Dr. Navarro's effort is, the reviewer doubts whether the book, as it stands, is a practical working manual. Enthusiastic over his array of *referencias* in the foot-notes and at the end of the chapters, the author does not take into sufficient consideration, either the ability or the inclination of teachers and pupils to read the languages, especially English, in which so many of the works mentioned are written, even if such works were actually, or for some time likely to be, accessible in Latin America. Allusions to European archives and to catalogues of European libraries as sources of information seem rather ambitious for what is after all a school text. The arrangement of the *referencias* at times is perilously near a jumble, particularly since the persons for whom

they are intended have little or no acquaintance with many of the names and titles quoted. Too little care is taken to insure an orderly and intelligible use of dates. Omission of the dates and places of publication of works cited, the employment of confusing abbreviations, the misspelling of proper names, and a Spanish inclination to regard the middle name as of equal importance with the last one are only too abundant. Though it may be conceded that a "systematic knowledge of aboriginal life is a very important part of American history" (p. xvi), the amount of space allotted to it is quite excessive. Numerous minor slips and dubious assertions, finally, require correction before the book will fit the ideal that it so conscientiously strives to represent.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647. By WILLIAM BRADFORD. [Edited by WORTHINGTON C. FORD.] In two volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company for the Massachusetts Historical Society. Pp. xvi, 452; xiii, 462.)

AMONG those who both made and sang the great epic of successful English settlement in America three names are pre-eminent. The first is Captain John Smith, whose stirring, though somewhat strident, *Generall Historie* of Virginia and of his own deeds therein has of late appeared in one edition in England (Arber), in another in Scotland (MacLehose), and in a third in America (*Original Narratives* series).

The second is Governor William Bradford. His *History of Plymouth Plantation* does not, like Smith's work, embody merely the energy and aggressive ambition of one masterful man. It rather breathes forth the profound convictions and austere ideals of a powerful though obscure movement and a Cause to which the devoted leader of the Plymouth colony cheerfully subordinated himself.

The third is he who wrote the history of the Bay colony, Governor John Winthrop, in many ways the most fortunate of them all.

Bradford's *History* has already appeared in four distinct editions. The first was published in 1856 by the Massachusetts Historical Society under the supervision of Mr. Charles Deane from a transcript of the original manuscript, which was then in Fulham Palace Library, London. In 1897, this manuscript was given to the state of Massachusetts and deposited in the state library. The legislature authorized the publication of an edition in 1901, which was avowedly a reprint of the text of the Deane edition of 1856. Seven years later William Thomas Davis of Plymouth edited the *History* for Dr. Jameson's series of *Original Narratives of American History*. All of these editions have made some omissions from the text.

The only complete edition of the Bradford manuscript, prior to this time, is a photographic reproduction in facsimile, made in 1895, with an introduction by John Andrew Doyle.

The Massachusetts Historical Society now presents, with the efficient

service of the Houghton Mifflin Company, this unabridged version of Bradford's manuscript, which is to be welcomed as the definitive edition of an historical classic. The Committee of Publication consisted of Charles Francis Adams, Arthur Lord, Morton Dexter, Gamaliel Bradford, jr., and Worthington C. Ford. Mr. Dexter died in 1910 while the work was in progress.

The editorial labors and responsibilities have been adequately sustained by Mr. Ford alone. In form and in every detail the books are a delight to the eye, and the editor's work has been performed with fidelity, admirable judgment, and good taste, and competent scholarship. He has provided a pleasure for the general reader, and for the scholar a thoroughly commendable work of reference.

The text is as accurate as scrupulous care could make it. "The original was taken as a foundation and twice has the printer's proof been collated with the fac-simile of Doyle."

The annotations leave nothing to be desired in scope and quality. They are copious without redundancy, and together with the numerous illustrations afford a satisfying array of illuminative material. Mr. Ford seems to have enjoyed a free rein in the choice and use of illustrations, and yet amid such a profusion of embellishments some connection between illustration and text is invariably preserved, a gratifying evidence of the union of editorial oversight and typographical ingenuity.

Mr. Ford follows Professor Dexter in commenting (I. 134, note) upon "the dearth of intellectual impulse in Plymouth Colony". It is, however, slightly inaccurate to say that the only publications emanating from the colony before 1650 were those of Winslow. Mr. Ford shows (I. 177-178, 213, notes) that he regards "Mourt's *Relation* (London, 1622) as partly the work of Bradford, and that Robert Cushman's sermon (I. 237), preached at Plymouth, December 9, 1621, and intended to promote co-operation between Plymouth and Mr. Weston, was also printed in London in 1622. This was the first New England sermon to be published, and it proceeded from the text, "Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth."

Rev. Charles Chauncy's sermon, proving the "unlawfulness and danger of Rayling in Altars or Communion Tables", was also, as Mr. Ford shows (II. 300-301), published in London in 1641, while the author was probably still a resident of Plymouth, 1638-1641. Mr. Ford's summary of Professor Dexter's observations might also have properly carried a cross-reference to his own notes (II. 302) upon the plans of Mr. Chauncy and his friends in 1640 for the establishment of an academy at Jones River, "some three miles from Plymouth".

The reader will notice with content that the Massachusetts Historical Society is to continue the notable public service begun in the publication of these handsome volumes. Mr. Ford promises (I. 3, note) another volume which will contain Governor Bradford's Dialogues or conferences. Presumably the surviving Bradford letters will be included. The editor also foreshadows (II. 115, note) the coming publication of a

new edition of Governor Winthrop's *History*, an undertaking for which Mr. Ford's labors upon Bradford's *History* have now provided a fitting introduction.

C. H. L.

A Colonial Governor in Maryland: Horatio Sharpe and his Times, 1753-1773. By Lady EDGAR. (London, New York, Bombay, and Calcutta: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 311.)

STUDENTS of the colonial period have for some time felt the need of biographical works dealing with men like Governor Sharpe who, as the author frankly states in the preface, was "a character of minor importance" yet whose career was "distinctly interesting" and "illumines a most fascinating period". More especially has it been recognized that sufficient attention has not been directed to the important and difficult part played by the colonial executive. As the main title of this book is *A Colonial Governor*, and as Sharpe's administration covered a period peculiarly adapted to the study of the position, functions, and problems of a colonial governor, it is a little disappointing to find that the author has failed to give a very clear idea of the governor as such—of his relation to assembly, proprietor, and crown. This relation appears incidentally in the material given, but it is left mainly for the reader to do the constructive work if he would understand the office of colonial governor. No doubt the author has such an understanding, as occasional comments on Sharpe's difficult position indicate. For example, "To steer a right course in this sea of difficulties demanded an uncommon share of ability, tact, and firmness. . . . The present lord looked on the province merely as a source of revenue, from which as much as possible was to be drawn. In return, the people were jealous of their rights and privileges as granted by their charter, and not inclined to yield one iota of these privileges in favor of their absent ruler" (pp. 43-44). It is apparent that Sharpe came as near to steering a "right course" as conflicting interests would permit. From the numerous letters quoted the reader may learn something of the obstinacy of the assembly as well as the greed of the proprietor; but no attempt is made by the author to examine adequately controversies on specific questions (such as supply bills, militia bills, income from fines and licenses), to point out their significance in shaping the political doctrines of the colonists, or to present a definite idea of the degree of autonomy demanded by the people. It is well known, of course, that to secure the passage of bills without yielding on questions of prerogative was the most difficult of the governor's duties. To facilitate this was one of the principal reasons for the passage of the Stamp Act.

The subtitle is more appropriate, for the book is a history of the times of Sharpe rather than of himself or of his office. A large part of it is made up of long but pertinent excerpts from Sharpe's Correspondence and the *Maryland Gazette*. This does not make the volume less

interesting, for the excerpts are skillfully woven into a very readable and entertaining narrative. There are few foot-notes, and those given are not citations to authorities. The first fourteen chapters deal with the Seven Years' War and are followed by four chapters on the revenue controversy and the Revolution. No unwarranted attempt is made to make Sharpe the central figure of the period, and in some of the chapters one almost forgets his existence. The chapter headings indicate the comprehensive treatment of the French war: Braddock's Arrival; Braddock's Defeat; Shirley, Commander-in-Chief; Acadia and Maryland; Shirley's Recall; Loudoun's Arrival; Loudoun's Recall; the Cherokees; Ticonderoga-Louisbourg, etc. One feels at times that the account is altogether too comprehensive as it occasionally digresses to describe such irrelevant events as the execution of Admiral Byng for being unsuccessful in his Minorca expedition (p. 115); and again, when the record of Braddock's arrival and war preparations is interrupted by the conjecture that, "If the general feasted, no doubt the staff flirted, much to the satisfaction of the fair damsels of Annapolis, who were, perhaps, a little inclined to scorn the provincials" (p. 39). The material used by the author is entirely too limited for adequate treatment of the topics indicated by the chapter headings, nevertheless the general account of the war period is satisfactory and the conclusions sound. Early disasters of the English were "partly owing to the lukewarmness of the different colonies, and their want of cohesion. Each assembly had its own ideas and plans for raising troops, for transportation, for supplies. Each was jealous of the other. As to the French, they were united under one head, possessed a trained army, were not dependent for supplies or money on local governments, and had the advantage, although fewer in numbers, of being well organized" (p. 101).

Chapters xv. to xviii. are devoted to the Stamp Act and the Revolution. In the interesting chapter on the repeal of the Stamp Act the reader may regret that five pages are devoted to the profligate clergyman, Bennett Allen, and think it foreign to the subject, but in other respects he will find little to criticize. The viewpoints of both ministry and colonies are well presented. The story of colonial resistance to imperial restrictions, especially in Maryland, is briefly but impartially told. The people of Maryland did their part in resisting British taxation, but were reluctant to sever connections with the mother-country. "Maryland's position during the Revolution was unique, and so was the position of the British Loyalists there. The respect, confidence, and protection of both parties were accorded to them if they remained, and leave to go abroad was given if they so preferred" (p. 267). Political differences, we are told, did not lead to persecution or prevent social intercourse. One of the most interesting features of the book is the glimpse which it affords of social life in the eighteenth century. Some well-selected illustrations of colonial homes help to make this more vivid. The volume is concluded by a biographical sketch of the proprietors and a history of the province compressed into less than fourteen pages.

E. I. McCORMAC.

The Missions and Missionaries of California. By Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M. In two volumes. (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company. 1908, 1912. Pp. xxii, 654; xlv, 682.)

IN these volumes Father Engelhardt has made a most interesting addition to the literature of California history. *The Missions and Missionaries* is not to be confused with the stream of books for popular use—part pictures and part sentiment—that issues perennially, responsive to the fascination of the mission buildings. Father Engelhardt is himself a friar, now attached to the mission at Santa Barbara, and for the greater part of his life has been an Indian missionary. What he has written, or rather, is writing, is a minutely detailed account of the activities and vicissitudes of the Franciscans in the two Californias.

The work is not to be taken as a history of California; it occupies a field entirely apart from such books as Bancroft and Hittell, and it is just in this characteristic that its distinctive importance resides. So far, indeed, is Father Engelhardt's book from being a political history that it might almost be described as an anti-political one; a matter not to be wondered at seeing that the fathers were involved in continual conflicts with the governors of the territory. Owing to the great distance of the California settlements from the seat of central authority in Mexico, to the virtual absence of white population in the country, and to the particularly backward condition of the Indians, the relations between the military and civil authorities and the missionaries were frequently strained to a degree not exceeded elsewhere in the Spanish dominions. The liberal tendencies in the thought of the later eighteenth century also had their influence in promoting friction between soldiers and friars; while it is not improbable that a vision of the power that had once belonged to the Jesuits in the peninsula may have proved tempting to their Franciscan successors. If to these elements is added the fact that the two most extensive histories of California were written during a period in the latter half of the nineteenth century that was almost militantly non-Catholic, and that Father Engelhardt has, consciously or unconsciously, undertaken to correct what he believes to be the misrepresentations of Bancroft and Hittell, the tone of the present volumes will be the better understood. As a result we have here a book that is indispensable to anyone who would fully understand the single-minded purpose and earnest devotion which led the fathers of the eighteenth century to relinquish civilization in order that they might bring salvation to the heathen. In itself Father Engelhardt's book is a document, of later date than Palóu certainly, but written with the same pen.

Volume I. begins with a brief account of the earliest voyages and discoveries on the coast (58 pp.); in this the author shows his familiarity with the older authorities, though, singularly, he makes no reference to the very important collection of Vizcaino documents published by Carrasco y Guisasaola in 1882-1883, or to the well-known writings of

Lorenzana (1770) and Navarrete (1802). Part II. deals at some length (225 pp.) with the Jesuit period in Lower California, 1679-1767. Here Father Engelhardt has found ample material for his purpose in the published histories of the Jesuits Ortega, Venegas, Baegert, Clavigero, and Alégre. In all probability little more can be done on this period until the Mexican Jesuit relations and allied documents have been collected and edited. Part III. is devoted to the six or seven years of Franciscan activity in Lower California; the seeming disproportionate amount of space given to this short period is more apparent than real, for the author has included here his account of the preparation and despatch of the Portolá expedition in 1769 for the occupation of Upper California. Part IV. covers the Dominican period, 1773-1855, in Lower California somewhat briefly (90 pp.); the materials for it, Father Engelhardt says, are of the scantiest, but in expressing this opinion the author has, one feels, somewhat underestimated the possibilities of the Mexican archives.

Volume II. contains the first half of the "General History" of the missions in Upper California, and carries the narratives from 1769 to 1812. It consists of two unequal parts, the first dealing with the administration of Father Serra as *presidente*, the second with the administrations of Fathers Lasuén and Tapis. Apart from the direct statement of events, this volume contains a chapter on the California Indians, and two chapters on the mission system, which students will welcome as giving a full and unequivocal presentation of the standpoint of the missionaries in regard to their wards.

Like the Apostles, the Franciscans came not as scientists, geographers, ethnographers, or schoolmasters, nor as philanthropists eager to uplift the people in a worldly sense to the exclusion or neglect of the religious duties pointed out by Christ. Superficial writers and shallow pedagogues have found fault with the early California missionaries for not emphasizing what they are pleased to call "education"; but, inasmuch as the friars came in the spirit of the Savior and of the Apostles, they saw no need of laying stress upon such knowledge save in so far as it helped them to gain their end (II. 242).

Hence, if historians and other authors would judge the early California missionaries and their efforts fairly they must divest themselves of the foolish notion that the first duty of the missionary is to impress the necessity of reading and writing. They must look upon those friars as messengers of the Gospel, and apply the same rules of criticism that must be employed in judging the work of the first missionaries, the Apostles (II. 244).

On the controversial point as to the restraints placed upon the Indians, Father Engelhardt says:

After the candidates had once received Baptism, however . . . then, indeed, they were not free to resume their wild and immoral life, because they bore the indelible mark of a Christian upon the soul which it was not allowed to desecrate. Such neophytes were on a level with the soldiers who had taken an oath to stand by the flag of their country which they could not be permitted to desert (II. 264).

As a student, Father Engelhardt has spared no pains to make his volumes proof against errors of fact; he has been assiduous in making use of the local archives and has visited those in the City of Mexico. Indeed, not the least valuable part of his work lies in the introduction on the Sources of California Mission History in his second volume.

In two points, I think, Father Engelhardt's treatment of his subject leaves something to be desired. He recognizes, at times quite clearly (I. 372; II. 145, note 27, and 482, etc.), the fact that the Spanish government regarded the mission system as a part of the machinery of state in the subjugation of new territories; yet this does not lead him, in any instance, to investigate the political reasons for the explorations and settlements with which his history deals. The second point is that Father Engelhardt appears unconscious of the many problems presented by the authorities upon which he relies. Thus he is conscious that there is a question as to the authorship of Venegas but has not investigated the subject sufficiently to discover that this well-known book was written by Father Andrés Marcos Burriel. He utilizes Palóu's *Noticias* as his guide and mainstay for the greater part of these two volumes, yet is content to rely on Doyle's edition which is an "emended" version of the inaccurately printed Mexican issue which, again, followed a poor copy of the original.

Finally, while expressing our indebtedness to Father Engelhardt's labors, it is incumbent to suggest to him the consideration whether, after all, the cause of truth is best served by uncompromising adjectives.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

The Beginnings of San Francisco, from the Expedition of Anza, 1774, to the City Charter of April 15, 1850. By ZOETH SKINNER ELDREDGE. In two volumes. (San Francisco: Z. S. Eldredge, 1912. Pp. 1-433; 443-837.)

THIS work is the contribution not of an historical scholar but of a man of culture who has devoted his leisure to expressing an interest in the history of the state in which he lives. The result of Mr. Eldredge's efforts appears in two privately issued volumes, equipped with suitable illustrations and maps, an imposing supplement of notes, a bibliography, and an index. Unhappily, the 375 pages of text seem rather lost in a setting that numbers up to page 837.

It is not clear that Mr. Eldredge has written his book in accordance with any predetermined plan; for while the work has received a restricted title, the author has not by any means confined himself to the subject of the "beginnings of San Francisco". What Mr. Eldredge has given us is a series of fairly readable essays on various topics of California history, distributed somewhat capriciously between text and notes. He himself says: "This work is not a history of California, but in accounting for the existence of San Francisco it has been found necessary to give some brief statements concerning the settlement of the country,

the character of its people, and the occurrences which preceded and led to the rise of the modern city" (p. 22). This policy is eminently reasonable, but it does not explain the disproportionate space given to the details of the Anza expeditions (90 pp. of text and 55 of notes), much less the 54 page criticism of Frémont, the 34 page restatement of the misadventures of the "Donner Party", or the thirty-two pages devoted to biographical sketches of the Military Governors of California. Some part of this extraneous material is, presumably, to be attributed to the author's desire to remedy certain "misconceptions of history", such as raising "to the rank of heroes men of very ordinary attainments", and "overlooking men whose character and achievement entitle them to the highest place in the respect and esteem of the people" (p. 23).

In volume I. after a brief account of the discovery and exploration of San Francisco Bay (18 pp.), there follows the minute description of the two Anza expeditions reprinted from the author's articles published in volumes II. and III. of the *Journal of American History*. The remainder of the volume (exclusive of notes) is given up to six chapters (100 pp.) entitled respectively: Colonization, Secularization, the Golden Age, Education, Trade, Land Grants, Spanish Administration, the Foreigners. Volume II. opens with an account in forty-nine pages of the Coming of the Argonauts; followed by two chapters on Yerba Buena, 1792-1846; one on the Conquest; and a final chapter on San Francisco, 1847-1850.

The notes appear to be overflow material from the text, and are miscellaneous in character—principally biographical and geographical excursions: San Carlos Borromeo, Punta de los Reyes, Ortega, San Buenaventura, Don Pedro Fages, the San Carlos, Arizona, and so forth.

As an investigator, Mr. Eldredge's interest tends to narrow down to biographical details, rather than to aim at disclosing the political significance of the events he describes. So, after years of work on the subject, he sees only that Portolá was "sent" by Gálvez; that Anza begged to be allowed to make an expedition from Tubac to Monterey and, after a time, permission was granted. He gives sixteen pages to the family histories of the soldiers who accompanied Anza, but does not find space to mention the fact that the idea of the Monterey expedition was a legacy to Anza from his father who had proposed it in 1737. There is a long history behind this effort to open an overland route from Mexico to California, which, had he been familiar with it, would have kept Mr. Eldredge from saying that Gálvez refused Anza's request in 1769 because he "did not consider such an expedition necessary at that time" (p. 55)—the real reason at that time was the Seris, just as in 1752 it had been the Pimas.

On the more technical side the proof-reading is faulty; incomplete references such as "*Ex. Doc.* 17, p. 490" are too frequent; while the bibliography, taken as a whole, is wretched—"Córtes (Hernán), *Historia de New España*. Edited by Lorenzana", is an example.

Finally, one cannot but sympathize with Mr. Eldredge in his protests

against the hard usage meted out to our Californian Spanish place names, but Mr. Eldredge should, one thinks, have informed himself long ago that there are both right and wrong, necessary and unnecessary places for accents in Spanish, and that there is such a thing as agreement between adjectives and their nouns: the book is disfigured throughout with such errors as *Cárlos*, *Cármelo*, *Purísima Concepcion*, and *Nuestro Senora*. Perhaps, indeed, it would be as well to allow *Rio de los Plumas* and *Isla de los Yeguas* (*cf.* p. 559) to remain simply *Feather River* and *Mare Island*.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

A History of the United States. By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume III. *The American Revolution, 1761-1789.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1912. Pp. vii, 585.)

THE completion of the third volume of the great historical work which Professor Channing has undertaken is a notable event in the history-writing world. The last volume, as the preceding ones, compels admiration for the adventurer that with no middle flight has dared a task of such magnitude. If this volume alone were the product of a scholar's pliant hours won from the stress of an academic life, it would deserve high praise, but as one of eight volumes of a true *magnum opus*, it moves one to enthusiasm for its mastery of the period. The reviewer read it with unflagging interest, held by the clear, direct style, unadorned except by the simple ornament of truth. The author never allows the desire to be literary or interesting to become stronger than the desire to be accurate. The restraint is marked. There is no loud denunciation of rascality, unworthiness, or inefficiency, but the mere inexorable statement of facts. The historical technic is well-nigh faultless, and there is absolute honesty as to the nature of the sources of information. Always cautious, suspicious of the least inconsistency in the evidence, no task is too great when once the author's interest and desire to know is aroused. He does not hesitate to let the daylight into even the most able-bodied historical myths with his critical rapier. There is a marked generosity in the recognition of the work of young investigators, even when that work is still in manuscript. But the work is not based merely on monographs, for there is much first-hand investigation, well ruminated upon. After some twelve years' study of the period, the reviewer found the volume abounding in facts that he did not know, and sown with shrewd and canny interpretations which are new and yet convincing.

This much that is appreciation has been written with perfect frankness, and now we turn to criticism, even though we seem to deserve Sir Henry Wotton's dictum that critics are the brushers of noblemen's clothes. In the matter of emphasis, Professor Channing's interests seem curiously hemmed in by the American sky-line. The historical account rarely leaves the Atlantic coast, so that foreign matters of vast importance in determining the outcome of the struggle, receive only the cold

respect of a passing glance. The French Alliance, the Spanish-French Alliance, the Armed Neutrality, even the political conditions in England itself are disposed of in all too hasty a manner, even though with understanding and appreciation. It is enough, perhaps, for the historian who already knows the facts, but not for the general reader. And this brings us to say that, on the whole, this seems an historians' history, always to be admired and read with interest by the specialist, but unlikely to interest greatly the mere cultured reader, because in many parts too compact, accompanied with too little explanation. The Armed Neutrality, the formation of which was one of the most important events of the whole struggle in its effect upon the outcome of the Revolution, is disposed of in five lines (p. 323)—rivalling in laconic brevity Caesar's description of his victory over Pharnaces. The negotiations between France and Spain with a view to alliance, wherein are displayed motives and plans most significant in their bearing on the future history of the Mississippi Valley, are despatched in one line and two words (p. 301). They are also briefly commented upon in a later paragraph (p. 354). The interesting and important history of the West during the Revolutionary War receives the most meagre treatment, one that would mean little to a reader who did not already know the facts. What will the historians of the West say to a history of the Revolution which mentions Lord Dunmore's War only in a foot-note, and does not contain even the names of Andrew Lewis, Daniel Boone, Sevier, or Robertson? Professor Channing says in a foot-note that Captain Mahan has set the Valcour Island conflict on Lake Champlain in its rightful place in history, but if space and emphasis mean anything to this end, Professor Channing does not do it. There are several examples of this foot-note recognition, but textual indifference.

In the otherwise strong and scholarly treatment of the causes of the Revolution, there is shown an astonishing blindness to social forces, notably those of sectarian and ecclesiastical character. A dozen lines (p. 13) suggest the sectarian controversies as a sort of vanishing view, no more. In the second volume, there is a fairly adequate treatment of the controversy respecting the Anglican Episcopate, and of other annoyances to which the colonial dissenters were subjected by the Anglican influences on the British government, but these the author does not in any way relate to the Revolution, and they are ignored in this volume as causes of the struggle.

In this connection, we must declare a radical difference of opinion as to the fundamental causes of the Revolution. In general, we believe that political theories and constitutional arguments are manipulated to meet the economic necessities of those making the arguments, but when Professor Channing states the different political philosophy of the English and Americans (1) as to the relation of government to the individual, (2) as to the relation of the centre to the parts in an imperial organization, and (3) as to representation, leaving the impression that these differences are incidental to the economic differences—caused by the dispute over the monopoly of trade and taxation, we think that he is

placing the incidental cart before the causal horse. We believe that the Americans, from a variety of causes arising throughout the colonial period, had come to have a predominant political theory and way of thinking about the British constitution, very different from the predominant theory and thinking in England, and that when the aggravating economic differences arose, each doubted the sincerity of the other, because each argued with a different conception of the terms employed. An outraged logic rather than economic suffering drove the colonists into rebellion.

But in all these matters there is a chance for a difference of opinion, and we turn from these to point out some actual errors. Professor Channing seems wholly to misunderstand the reason why England made war upon the Netherlands (1780), saying: "The English became aware that a treaty was actually in agitation between America and Holland, and declared war", but the truth is that it was the fact of the Netherlands joining the Armed Neutrality to secure its defense of the neutral commerce which was the real reason, though the Dutch treaty was the pretended one. Again, speaking of the three-fifths compromise in the Constitutional Convention on the matter of representation and apportionment of direct taxation, he speaks of the "federal ratio" as an "artificial number", but as a matter of fact the three-fifths representation of slaves was reasoned—based upon the fact that it was generally agreed that a slave did about three-fifths as much work as a free white laborer. One other important error should be pointed out. The author accepts Professor Turner's theory that Vergennes had in mind, at some future time, to secure the retrocession of Louisiana from Spain and again to make France a power on the continent of North America, but we are convinced by material contained in a thesis now in manuscript, but soon we hope to be published, that Vergennes did not believe in the profitability of colonies, and that his real desire was to set up in America, perhaps one, possibly three republics just strong enough to keep England from extending her power in America, but weak enough to look to France for support, and in gratitude therefor to give France her trade, which in Vergennes's opinion was the only thing which made colonies, otherwise expensive, worth while. The reviewer hardly needs to say that he views with compassion Professor Channing's non-committal attitude on the subject of state sovereignty in the Revolution. Had he read a certain article on that subject—of which he seems unaware—in volume XII. of the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, he could not have been in such Egyptian darkness. There are quite a number of other important monographs, the best on their particular subjects, which have escaped the writer's attention. We would that we had been permitted space to point out in detail many of the excellent qualities of the book, but in a limited review the critic must improve his opportunities, though at the expense of the pleasure of giving praise. In spite of the faults—if, indeed, they are faults, and the reviewer not mistaken—the work is a permanent monument to American scholarship, a virile, truthful, and inspiring history, worthy of the great theme.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Under the Old Flag: Recollections of Military Operations in the War for the Union, the Spanish War, the Boxer Rebellion, etc.

By JAMES HARRISON WILSON, Brevet Major-General, U.S.A. In two volumes. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1912. Pp. xvi, 580; ix, 582.)

GENERAL WILSON has held important commands in three wars. In the Civil War he served on T. W. Sherman's staff in the South Atlantic campaign, McClellan's staff in the Maryland campaign, and Grant's staff "during the period of his greatest glory from the beginning of the campaign in Northern Mississippi to the end of the Campaign at Chattanooga".

He had charge of the Cavalry Bureau in Washington in the spring of 1864; commanded a division under Sheridan in the Wilderness; conducted, independently, an important raid in south-central Virginia; was with Sheridan at Winchester; and was then sent to Sherman to command the cavalry of the Military Division of the Mississippi. Grant declared he would add fifty per cent. to its effectiveness. He did. Under his leadership the cavalry distinguished itself at Franklin, and broke the Confederate left at Nashville, turning a doubtful success into an overwhelming victory. Then at the head of a force of fourteen thousand troopers, Wilson defeated Forrest, captured Selma, Montgomery, Columbus, and Macon, and ended by capturing Jefferson Davis himself. In the four years of fighting he had been brevetted five times for gallant and meritorious conduct, and had risen in rank from second lieutenant to Major-General of Volunteers.

In the Spanish War he served with the expedition to Porto Rico, and during the first occupation of Cuba commanded the Department of Matanzas and Santa Clara. In the Boxer War he served as second in command of the American contingent.

General Wilson's book is not only a very valuable contribution to military history, but a most entertaining one as well. He is a sharp critic, but he praises warmly those he regards as deserving of praise and these include himself. As has been written of Marbot, "There is no pretense of self-depreciation . . . he knows what he did is creditable to him, and does not mind in a modest way taking credit for it."

Despite the many pages devoted to Grant we are left in doubt as to Wilson's estimate of his generalship. Of Grant, the man, he gives a very real and attractive picture though he does not hesitate to refer to Grant's unfortunate habits.

Thomas, he thinks, resembled the traditional Washington in appearance, manners, and character, and was an abler general than Sherman or Sheridan. Sherman's generalship receives scant praise and Sheridan although described as "perhaps the most brilliant and certainly one of the most aggressive and successful [soldiers] on either side" was seemingly neither brilliant nor aggressive while Wilson was with him. Upton, he declares the "best all-round soldier of the day". Lee's gener-

alship and patriotism he thinks have been magnified. Stuart he considers overrated. Hampton and Forrest "were quite his equals in personal prowess and leadership, while Hampton was his superior in administration and generalship". His opinions of the leaders of more recent years are certain to be challenged, for General Wilson is a robust partizan and needs time to soften his judgments. The inaccuracies in the book are few and unimportant; but the index should be corrected and enlarged.

A History of the Presidency from 1897 to 1909. By EDWARD STANWOOD, Litt.D. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1912. Pp. ii, 298.)

MR. STANWOOD preserves in the present volume the characteristic features of his *History of the Presidency*, published in 1898 as a revised and enlarged edition of his *History of Presidential Elections*. The party platforms of 1900, 1904, and 1908 are given in full, together with brief accounts of the conventions and campaigns, tables of popular and electoral votes, and the special incidents, if any, of the Congressional count. An appendix gives the platforms of 1912. In these various respects the work leaves nothing to be desired save an adequate index, the index which is provided being singularly incomplete in the important matter of names. There are a few minor misprints: "the immediate duty of the law" (p. 3) should probably read hour; "the cause of the president" (p. 90) should undoubtedly read, the course of the president; and the name of Senator Burrows of Michigan appears (p. 169) as "Burrroughs".

In some other important respects the present volume differs appreciably from its predecessors. For one thing, the accounts of the several administrations have been, by comparison, much expanded. Mr. Stanwood has not, indeed, undertaken to write a history of the United States since 1896. It is clear that what he has in mind is an exposition of the issues which operated to determine nominations and elections. He has also sought—laboriously at times, one cannot help suspecting—entire impartiality. But the elaborateness with which the presidential careers of McKinley and Roosevelt are traced takes this portion of the work somewhat beyond the limits of undisputed historical chronicle, and embarks the author upon the deep and stormy sea of contemporary politics. As Mr. Stanwood has essayed the voyage, a reviewer cannot do less than follow him.

The two features of historical development since the election of 1896 which loom largest to the contemporary observer are the changed attitude of the United States towards world politics, and the extraordinary upheaval of political sentiment and action under Mr. Roosevelt. To both of these Mr. Stanwood naturally gives positions of chief prominence, but to neither of them, I am constrained to think, does he do entire justice. Elation over the successful war with Spain, satisfaction, or at least the lack of organized dissatisfaction, with the Dingley tariff, and the

personal popularity of President McKinley, were undoubtedly potent elements in the Republican success of 1900. On the other, the effect of the anti-imperialist agitation in stimulating a wide-spread examination of the whole question of the future position of the United States as a world power, and of colonialism as an inevitable accompaniment, is hardly more than alluded to in Mr. Stanwood's pages; nor does he point out the significance of the submergence of traditional notions of liberty and morality, as exhibited in the indifference of the country at large to the conduct of the army in the Philippines and to the demand for Filipino independence.

On the position of President Roosevelt in the history of the United States no writer may yet venture to speak with entire assurance. One lays down Mr. Stanwood's volume, however, with the feeling that the writer has not only failed to grasp, or at least to express, the most obvious significance of Mr. Roosevelt's second administration, but that in one vital respect he has misinterpreted it. The uprising of the people, whether for good or for ill, against political bosses and aggregated wealth was due to social and economic evils deeply imbedded in the structure of American society; and of this revolt Mr. Roosevelt was far less the promoter and inspirer, as Mr. Stanwood seems to imply, than the reiterant mouthpiece and aggressive leader. If Mr. Stanwood sympathizes with or clearly perceives the epoch-making struggle of classes which has grown so portentously since 1896, his pages do not convincingly show it.

In a final chapter on the Evolution of the Presidency, the veteran historian of that institution seeks, by a brief survey of the growth of the appointing power, the veto, and the suggestion and control of legislation, to determine the present position of the office in our constitutional system. His conclusion is that the President has become by evolution a part of the legislative power, and, potentially at least, a dictator. Into his discussion of this interesting constitutional problem we cannot follow him here, further than to commend to students of government and constitutional law both his facts and his conclusions.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

Lord Durham's Report of the Affairs of British North America.

Edited with an introduction by Sir C. P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.

In three volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. Pp. vi, 335; 339; iv, 380.)

THE appearance of a thoroughly complete and well-annotated edition of Lord Durham's classic report is particularly appropriate at a time when the British Dominions are manifesting a new interest in the question of the relation between the mother-land and the overseas possessions. Modern British colonial policy accepts two fundamental conditions—the necessity of colonial autonomy and the necessity of the ultimate supremacy of the government of the United Kingdom. The first of these conditions was not always recognized. It is as the apostle

of colonial self-government that Lord Durham lives in history and it is in the *Report on the Affairs of British North America* that his doctrines of colonial administration are proclaimed.

His experience at the Colonial Office and his familiarity with the sources of Canadian history have made Sir Charles Lucas thoroughly conversant with the subject-matter of this important document. The work is divided into three volumes—the first an historical introduction with an analysis and criticism of the report, the second, the report proper, and the third, the very valuable appendixes to the report together with the more important despatches and Charles Buller's sketch of Lord Durham's mission, hitherto unpublished.

The immediate occasion of Lord Durham's appointment as High Commissioner of the British North American Provinces was the insurrection of 1837 and though his inquiries included other subjects, they were more especially directed to that particular affair. Both Upper and Lower Canada presented the spectacle of a very large section of the community at least manifestly dissatisfied with the existing administration, if not in active revolt against its authority. There was an apparent agreement between the parties of reform—as the opponents of the administrations were known—in demanding the introduction of the principle of responsible government. But this seeming agreement served only to obscure fundamental differences.

The problem in Lower Canada, as Lord Durham clearly perceived, was essentially racial but aggravated by the "continued inconsistency of British policy" and the "errors and vacillations of Government". The division of Quebec in 1791 Lord Durham considered as a serious error because, while forming one community in which French customs should predominate, it at the same time encouraged English immigration. "The Province should have been set apart to be wholly French if it was not to be rendered completely English." With this criticism Sir Charles Lucas takes issue. Apart from the question of Lord Durham's estimate of the French Canadians, it is true that the British government was guilty of frequent vacillations which undoubtedly tended to complicate the Canadian situation. The constitutional provisions of the Act of 1791 were condemned by Lord Durham because they introduced into government the principle of representation but withheld the principle of the responsibility of the executive which he considered to be a necessary complement. The editor defends the action of Pitt on the ground that the act was intended as a temporary remedy. While this is doubtless true it must also be admitted that the Constitutional Act did contain contradictory principles of government which must sooner or later come into open conflict. The granting of representative government in 1791 was premature, and the discussion in the legislature of issues which were reducible in most cases to racial diversities only aggravated the existing ill feeling. Further, the division of the province tended to set one government against the other by creating jealousies which, as in later years, very seriously embarrassed the government of Upper Canada.

The Executive and Legislative councils were the bulwark of English influence and with them the governors, with few exceptions, became allied. Racial factions thus became converted into political parties and the governor was forced to assume the leadership of the party of the administration which in Lower Canada was hopelessly in the minority. In the Lower Province Papineau and the French Canadian party advocated the introduction of the principle of responsible government for the purpose of controlling the administration and securing the supremacy of the French Canadian nationality, while in Upper Canada the reform party, under Mackenzie, advocated reform for the purpose of improving the administration.

The remedy proposed by Lord Durham was, in brief, the partial introduction of responsible government and, as a necessary prelude to this, the reunion of the provinces. The idea of local responsibility in the administration of a dependency had hitherto been held to be inconsistent with the supremacy of the crown. In the sphere of government Lord Durham distinguished between affairs of purely colonial concern and those affecting imperial interests, and boldly advocated granting self-government in matters in which the colony alone was interested. His declaration on this occasion marks the dawn of a new era in colonial administration. The history of colonial government since this time has been the story of the gradual extension of the conventional circle which separated colonial from imperial interests until now when the question of imperial defense is uppermost it has become patent that there are no problems of empire which are not concerns of the self-governing dominions.

Lord Durham's arguments in favor of union may be admitted without subscribing to his estimate of the French Canadian people. He did not know French Canada. As a Radical he disapproved of the reactionary policy of the French Canadian party in the legislature; as an Imperialist he saw no hope for the future but in a uniform British nationality. Were any advantage to have been gained it would have been quite impossible at that time to have denationalized French Canada.

In the brief appendix to the introductory volume a parallel is drawn between the situation in Lower Canada and that in modern Ireland and the conclusion is reached that, in so far as any inference can be drawn, Lord Durham would not have recommended Home Rule for Ireland. In this bit of special pleading the editor seems to underestimate the significance of the positive content of Lord Durham's recommendation of the principle of self-government. It would seem to have been Lord Durham's view that there could be no permanent basis of empire short of granting local autonomy in matters of local concern. The problem of nationalism connects Ireland and French Canada and if any inference can be drawn it is from Lord Durham's failure to recognize the value and the strength of nationality. In this respect Lord Elgin proved a truer prophet than Lord Durham.

The work of the editor has on the whole been faithfully performed.

He frequently, however, conveys the impression that he holds a brief for Downing Street. His attitude is not as critical as it could well afford to be. British colonial policy has succeeded amidst a series of brilliant blunders. The glory of its later achievements need not blind the student to the errors of its earlier ways. These volumes, however, constitute a most important contribution to the history of Canada and of British Imperial relations and will doubtless remain for many years the standard work on Lord Durham's *Report*.

True Tales of Arctic Heroism in the New World. By A. W. GREELY, Major-General, U. S. Army. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1912. Pp. xii, 385.)

GENERAL GREELY'S book makes no particular appeal to the scholar or the student of Arctic exploration. It is designed rather to put before American youth, in readable and at the same time strictly accurate form, the "deeds of daring, the devotion to duty, and the self-abnegation which have so often illumined the stirring annals of exploration in arctic America". This is not to say, however, that these *True Tales* are not worthy of the attention of more mature readers. It is true that the matter of the book is, for the most part, already familiar to those whose taste leads them into the field of arctic literature; or perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that it would be familiar to many of us, were it not for the fact that as often as not we read these narratives more for the sake of the light they throw upon the historic search for the North Pole, or the more ancient quest of the Northwest Passage, than for their worth as human documents. It is as human documents that General Greely has studied the classic works of Franklin and McClintock, Kane, Rae, and Richardson, M'Clure, Ross, and many others; and he has managed to extract and bring together in a volume of 385 pages a wonderful collection of stories, related generally in the simple, modest, and most effective language of the actors themselves, revealing the heroism and self-sacrifice that runs like a golden thread through the history of arctic exploration. Perhaps none of these tales of dauntless courage and perseverance is more impressive than that of Mylius-Erichsen and Hagen, of the Danish expedition of 1905, and their Inuit dog-driver, Jörgen Brönlund. The Danish explorers had left their ship the *Danmark* on the eastern coast of Greenland, and had set forth with dog-sleds to complete the survey of Hazen Land, now Peary Land—the most northerly land of the globe. Their equipment had been based on a serious misapprehension of the distance, but when this became apparent the explorers, thinking only of the importance of their task, determined to complete it at all hazards. They finally completed their surveys with Peary's at Navy Cliff, but the game they had hoped for failed them, and the ship lay 560 miles to the south. They could face death, but not the failure of their expedition. Their records must be got somehow to the nearest depot, on Lambert Land; and the only possible route was over the terrible glacial ice-cap. En-

feebled by starvation, their clothing and tent in rags, they crawled, through incredible hardships, 160 miles in twenty-six days. Brönlund alone reached the depot, with Hagen's chart and his own field-journal, in which the final entry runs: "I perished in 79° N. latitude, under the hardships of the return journey over the inland ice in November. I reached this place under a waning moon, and cannot go on because of my frozen feet and the darkness. The bodies of the others are in the middle of the fiord. Hagen died on November 15, Mylius-Erichsen some ten days later."

L. J. B.

Colbert's West India Policy. By STEWART MIMS, Assistant Professor of History, Yale University. [Yale Historical Series, I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Henry Frowde. 1912. Pp. xiv, 385.)

IN 1736 John Bennett, whose residence in the West Indies as agent of the South Sea and Royal Assiento Company gave weight to his judgments, addressed to an unnamed statesman, *Four Letters concerning the flourishing Condition, large Extent, and prodigious Increase of the French Sugar Colonies; the Poverty, Weakness and Decay of the British Sugar Colonies; and their vast Importance to the Trade, Navigation, Wealth and Power of this Nation*. He voiced the conviction of his day. Jamaica planters acclaimed it; Massachusetts merchants acted upon it. Nevertheless the French West Indies have remained, as Professor Mims says, little more than a name. "Students have watched New England ships sail with their cargoes of fish, lumber, live stock and food-stuffs and have let them, so to speak, disappear into the unknown, whence they saw them reappear with cargoes of sugar and molasses." To follow those ships to Martinique, or to Guadeloupe, or to St. Domingo, to learn the secret of that extraordinary development which enabled the French planters to drive English sugar from the warehouses of Europe and to afford New England traders their most profitable market, such was the fascinating task which Mr. Mims undertook, hoping thereby to elucidate "the so-called economic causes of the American Revolution". His immediate interest lay, therefore, in the eighteenth century. But to understand that period he found an introductory study necessary. It carried him back to Colbert. He discovered that no serious student had dealt in detail with any single problem that Colbert encountered in his attempts to build up French colonial commerce in the West Indies. So he yielded to the temptation of expanding his introduction into an independent book.

This, then, is the initial volume of a history of French colonial policy in the West Indies. Another, announced for early publication (pp. ix, 318), will bring the narrative through the reign of Louis XIV. Subsequent studies will extend it, let us hope, for at least a century further. Meanwhile the first volume is before us. It is soberly written, foregoing

tales of exploration or of personal adventure, concerning itself with war or diplomacy in so far only as the author finds needful for explaining the course of administration, touching even upon politics only when politics is shaped by the necessities of commerce.

The book is divisible into two parts, nearly equal in size. The first, after outlining the history of the French colonies prior to the establishment of the West India Company in 1664, traces with much care the varying fortunes of that company during its ten years of life. The second part takes up topically the more important subjects that have appeared in the preceding narrative, such as the struggle to exclude the Dutch from the commerce of the islands, the licensing by the company of French private traders, the means taken to encourage the production of tobacco and of sugar, and the efforts that Colbert made to supply the French planters not merely with African slaves of French procuring, but also with French live-stock, lumber, provisions, and manufactured goods. This part also contains, incidentally, a somewhat scattered account of Colbert's later policy, from the downfall of the company in 1674 to his own death in 1683. It is obviously a plan that must entail repetitions. But they have seldom been permitted to transcend the minimum which a clear presentation of the facts demanded.

For most of this study contemporary books are few. To Du Tertre's *Histoire Générale des Antilles habitées par les François* (1667-1671) Professor Mims, in common with all students of the early history of the French West Indies, owes a heavy debt. This he handsomely acknowledges (p. 342); and it stands not less clearly revealed by the fragmentariness of his insular narrative after 1667, when the Dominican fails him. Second in importance is perhaps the *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre Ferme de l'Amérique, recueillie par J[ean de] C[lodoré] S[ecrétaire] D[e] V[aisseaux]*, as most bibliographers believe. Professor Mims, however, without discussing the authorship, attributes it to de La Barre (pp. 140, 360). However that may be, the book closes with 1669. There is no other seventeenth-century publication of importance. The chief modern writers on Colbert, regarding the West India Company as one of his failures, all pass over it briefly except Benoît du Rey. And of his *Recherches sur la Politique Coloniale de Colbert* Professor Mims has but a low opinion. Depping's *Correspondance Administrative*, Boislisle's *Correspondance des Contrôleurs Généraux*, and Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Loix et Constitutions des Colonies Françaises*, however, print source-material of which Professor Mims makes extended use. But his book is based, chiefly and first of all, upon hitherto unused manuscripts. The archives of the ports which traded most largely with the West Indies proved disappointingly barren, but in Paris he found masses of archival material of which he gives a full account (pp. 342-358).

The points of greatest interest in the history of the West India Company brought to light by Professor Mims's diligence and acuteness are perhaps these: that the subscription of a half-million livres to its capital on the day the books were opened is no proof of a public success, the

operation being but an exchange for the stock of the older and only half-successful company of Cayenne (pp. 75-78); that though there were a few merchants among the company's directors their subscriptions were small and their influence slight; that of a total capital of more than five millions subscribed first or last the king furnished more than half, and revenue farmers and high officials almost all the residue, so that the company was in fact little more than a colonial office, and its policy was completely dominated not by its merchant directors, but by Colbert; that the embarrassments which insufficient capital had brought upon it were so increased by the war with England that its balance-sheet, struck soon after the peace of Breda, showed a deficit of 1,600,000 livres (p. 147); that in order to sustain the planters during the war the company was forced to share its monopoly with French private traders, and even to readmit the Dutch; that Colbert soon came to appreciate the superior efficiency of the private traders, and although he again expelled the Dutch with barbarity, even suggesting (p. 198) that the Caribs be secretly incited to attack them, he threw open the trade of the islands to all Frenchmen in 1670, and in 1671 confined the trade of the company to the importation of slaves from Africa and of live-stock and salt meat from France (pp. 163-164); that the company succeeded so ill in the beef-trade that Colbert decided, in October, 1672, to dissolve it, leaving the colonial trade freely open to all Frenchmen.

Such are the bald outlines of the story. Professor Mims enriches it with a wealth of new details, many revealing afresh the familiar aspects of all West Indian commerce: the ubiquity of the Dutch, to whose services in supporting early European establishments overseas he pays a deserved tribute; the willingness of insular governors, who must live on tolerable terms with their planter neighbors, to deceive their superiors at home as to the effectiveness of measures enjoined for suppressing interlopers; the inevitable "ketch coming from the city of Boston", and the early reputation of the New Englanders for a spirit of political independence; the long inadequacy of Canada to provision the West Indies; and the prevalent disposition of every island to believe its neighbors more prosperous than itself. Comment and interpretation seem, in general, to be judicious and such as the sources sufficiently support. Towards doctrinaire interpretations of Colbert's policy, whether by convinced free traders or by resolute admirers of bureaucracy, Professor Mims shows a healthy repugnance, preferring to find rather the spirit of the commercial opportunist—"habile homme d'affaires"—in the varying means by which the great minister pursued his unchanging aim of engrossing French colonial commerce for Frenchmen.

In general, so far as I have been able to check the matter, Professor Mims uses his sources with care. But his translations, fluent and idiomatic, are occasionally rather free. Thus, in a passage quoted from Du Tertre (p. 107) clauses are altered, though in a manner that the original context fairly warrants and that serves to clarify the historian's mean-

ing. No substantial harm is done by the translator's changes, but it is disconcerting to find the result enclosed in marks of quotation.

Mechanically, the book, with its ample page, strong but open type, and rough paper, is most agreeable to use; and in this regard, as well as in its scholarly conscientiousness, it is an auspicious inauguration of the *Yale Historical Studies*.

CHARLES H. HULL.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1910. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. 725.) Following the report of the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Association, held at Indianapolis, December, 1910, and the account of the seventh meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, the volume contains a number of the papers which were read at the meeting, dealing, as it happens, entirely with English and American history. Those concerned with the former are: the Efforts of the Danish Kings to secure the English Crown, by Professor Laurence M. Larson; the Records of the Privy Seal, by Professor James F. Baldwin; Royal Purveyance in Fourteenth-Century England in the Light of Simon Islip's *Speculum Regis*, by Professor Chalfant Robinson; Anglo-Dutch Relations, 1654-1660, by Professor R. C. H. Catterall; and Some Critical Notes on the Works of S. R. Gardiner, by Professor R. G. Usher. American history is treated in the following papers: the Mexican Policy of Southern Leaders under Buchanan's Administration, by Professor James M. Callahan; the Decision of the Ohio Valley [in 1860], by Professor Carl Russell Fish; North Carolina on the Eve of Secession, by Professor William K. Boyd; the Inception of the Montgomery Convention, by Dr. Armand J. Gerson; the Attitude of Congress toward the Pacific Railway, 1856-1862, by Professor Allen M. Kline.

Passing from individual to corporate activities, we have a paper on the Working of the Western State Historical Society, by Miss Jeanne E. Wier, the Report of the Committee of Five on the Study of History in Secondary Schools, which is of especial value to teachers of history, an account of the seventh annual conference of historical societies with a summary of the reports from these societies, and the report of the Public Archives Commission, containing an account of the second annual conference of archivists, and a report of the International Congress of Archivists at Brussels in 1910. The commission also presents reports on the archives of Indiana, Kentucky, Nebraska, and the Philippines, by Professor Harlow Lindley, Miss Irene T. Myers, Mr. Addison E. Sheldon, and Dr. James A. Robertson. Last of all comes the annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1910* (pp. 429-706), compiled by Miss Grace Griffin, and now annually incorporated in the *Annual Report*.

Manual of Early Ecclesiastical History to 476 A. D. By Charles L. Wells, Ph.D., Lecturer in History, McGill University. [Sewanee Theological Library.] (Sewanee, Tenn., The University Press, 1912, pp. xxxv, 259.) The plan of Dr. Wells's manual is determined by that of the series to which it belongs, a series intended to furnish a standard for examinations for clerical orders. The text is to indicate a minimum of required knowledge and the bibliographical notes are to aid the student in expanding his knowledge beyond the required minimum. Dr. Wells has prepared a helpful guide furnished with a convenient chronological table of Roman emperors and of Roman bishops contemporary with them, a list of synods with a note of the action taken in them, and an excellent general bibliography accompanied by comments on the character of the works. The analytical division of topics is very complete so that it serves as an index to more extensive treatments, though for an epitome like this it involves a sacrifice of continuity and obscures the story of historical development.

This outline is well suited to its purpose of aiding in the mastery of the materials either in the case of a student hearing lectures or reading larger works. The chief defect is that occasionally the author's apologetic interest has affected the statement of certain historical problems. It is proper, for example, to argue that the single local episcopate must be carried back to the earliest time, but it is well first to state the conflicting data and then to suggest the argument. Dr. Wells's argumentative statement obscures the data that make a problem.

Text-books evolve and this one can be improved in expression. On page 140 a mysterious sentence needs revision: "Christianity is not a religion; but a life and the whole living was etc." What is meant by saying (p. 168) that the bishop of Rome had imperial prerogatives? Why speak of Roman primacy in the fourth century when page 171 indicates a rank only equal to the Alexandrian patriarchate? The decree of Aurelian about the church property in Antioch is sadly misstated (p. 129). There are misprints: Alexandria for Antioch (p. 212), Aurelius for Aurelian (p. 82), Ep. 77 for Ep. 71 (p. 129), kernel for canon (p. 64).

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Politics and Religion in the Days of Augustine. By Edward Frank Humphrey, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Columbia University. (New York, 1912, pp. 220.) This book deals with the period between the death of the Emperor Theodosius (395) and that of St. Augustine (430). As a field of research calculated to exhibit the true importance of "those eventful years during which the Roman Empire was, for the first time, facing genuine barbarian invasion" the author selects Africa, "which in the time of Augustine absorbed the thought and direction of Christendom". Augustine is made to appear as a Colossus bestriding the narrow world of religion and politics. "During his lifetime took place that rapid development by which Christianity emerged from dependence on an all-powerful Emperor, Theodosius, into an aggressively militant

supremacy dependent on its own political leaders. This movement Augustine dominated both religiously and politically. Indeed his doctrines, formulated under the stress of active contest, eventually prevailed throughout the Christian world" (p. 13). Exaggeration is perhaps unavoidable in an intensive historical study of persons or limited periods; but neither the African Church nor the Bishop of Hippo merit the unqualified importance ascribed to them by Professor Humphrey. As a matter of fact the African Church enjoyed no pre-eminence over other sections of Christendom either in the field of politics or religion, while the influence of Augustine was confined to the West. Neither in his lifetime nor afterwards did Augustine appreciably affect the Greek Church. On the politics of the Eastern Empire he made no impression whatsoever.

The immaturity of judgment with which the general theme is conceived is shown in the fact that the author is forced even to contradict himself. After speaking of the "aggressively militant supremacy" which the Church attained as a result of Augustine's labors, the author further on makes the assertion that: "With the fall of Chrysostom (404) the Church of the East took the position it was thereafter to hold as a power inferior to and dependent upon the civil authorities" (p. 83). Inexactness in stating facts frequently occurs. Thus (p. 70) we are told that Chrysostom "hurried to Constantinople under military escort to avoid trouble with his congregation at Antioch". The truth is Chrysostom was kidnapped and brought to Constantinople by force. In view of the opinions of recognized authorities, the author should not have been betrayed into making many positive statements unsupported by new evidence, such as, "The fall of that minister [Stilicho] was accomplished by the leaders of the Christian party" (p. 128). The letter of Augustine to Dioscorus, which is quoted at length, will hardly bear the interpretation that "Augustine showed a profound contempt for all educational traditions" (p. 159). Many typographical errors and some mistakes in regard to dates escaped the author's notice. The subjective quality which runs through the book and shows itself at times in narrow partizanship should find no place in a work of erudition.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Deutsche Kaisergeschichte in der Zeit der Salier und Staufer. Von Karl Hampe, Professor in Heidelberg. [Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Erich Brandenburg.] (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1912, pp. viii, 294.) "Dies Buch möchte nicht nur belehren, sondern auch anregen, nicht nur studiert, sondern auch gern gelesen sein." That this hope expressed in the preface of the first edition has been fulfilled is indicated by the necessity in less than four years of a second edition. On its first appearance the book was recognized as the best short history of the empire within the period covered to which the professed student or the general reader could turn (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV. 846-847) and the new edition has pre-

served all the attractive features of the old—energy and lucidity of narrative, proportion and emphasis in presentation, and above all masterly characterization of the leading personalities, especially those of Henry IV., Gregory VII., and Roger II. of Sicily. The size of the book has been somewhat increased, for Dr. Hampe has carefully appraised the new literature that has appeared since 1908, as may be seen by referring to his foot-notes and by observing the number of passages, especially in the latter portion of the book, that have been rewritten. The critical discussions in small type have disappeared and have either been relegated to the notes or incorporated in the main text. It is hoped that the desire expressed by an English reviewer may be fulfilled and that we may soon have an English translation for the convenience of students who do not easily read German.

A. C. H.

Local Government in Francia and England. A comparison of the local administration and jurisdiction of the Carolingian Empire with that of the West Saxon Kingdom. By Helen M. Cam, M.A. (London, University of London Press, 1912, pp. x, 156.) Miss Cam's problem is the old question whether or not the local institutions of the Angles and Saxons show any definite traces of Frankish influence. After a careful study of analogous institutions in the two lands, their areas of local government, their military systems, the benefice, vassallage, and immunity, she finally concludes that there is no evidence for any borrowing on the part of the Saxons from across the Channel except, perhaps, in certain forms of land tenure; and it is her opinion that "the first borrowing must have taken place during the Merovingian period" (p. 99); of Carolingian influence she finds no sure traces. She believes that the institutional resemblances are in most cases due to a common Germanic ancestry, which "is sufficient to explain much, if not all, of the parallels that have been noticed". The results of Miss Cam's study are, however, not wholly negative: the chief value of her work lies in the discussion and criticism of the more recent theories that have been put forth by students of Old English institutions, particularly Chadwick, Corbett, Vinogradoff, and Guilhiermoz. Miss Cam has also contributed several interesting suggestions of her own. She is inclined to hold that the *gerefa* of the early ninth century was not a shire-reeve but an official of the hundred (p. 49). The name of the hundred (not the institution itself) she attributes, with Chadwick and others, to a borrowing from the Scandinavians of the Danelaw (p. 60). As a rule she distinguishes clearly between terms and periods; the *corl*, however, she confuses with the older *caldorman*, though their offices appear to have differed both in origin and in functions.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Two Select Bibliographies of Medieval Historical Study. By Margaret F. Moore, M.A., Carnegie Scholar in Palaeography and Early Eco-

conomic History, with a preface by Hubert Hall, F.S.A., University Reader in Palaeography and Early Economic Sources. (London, Constable and Company, 1912, pp. 185.) The first of these useful bibliographies, entitled "A Classified List of Works relating to the Study of English Palaeography and Diplomatic", is of wider scope than the title implies. Besides general authorities, works on such matters as paper-making, and water-marks, and the auxiliary studies of diplomatic, it includes treatises relating to the "national writings" and "national chanceries", not only of Great Britain and Ireland but of the Continent. In respect to works relating to the Continental countries, the principle of selection is not entirely clear. As important as some of those listed, are, for example, such works as L. Schmitz-Kallenberg's *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae Saeculi XV. Excuntis* (Münster, 1904), and J. Haller's "Die Ausfertigung der Provisionen: ein Beitrag zur Diplomatik der Papsturkunden des 14. u. 15. Jahrhunderts", *Quellen und Forschungen*, Band II., Heft 1.

The second bibliography, "A Classified List of Works relating to English Manorial and Agrarian History from the Earliest Times to the Year 1660", is full, accurate, and altogether admirable. Under more than a thousand numbers, it lists sources and modern works, published in periodicals and collections, as well as singly. It is more comprehensive than the *List of Printed Original Materials* in the same field, published by Dr. Frances Davenport in 1894, and a comparison of the two works is of interest as showing how large a body of additional material has been issued in recent years.

The Estates of the Archbishop and Chapter of Saint-André of Bordeaux under English Rule. By E. C. Lodge. *One Hundred Years of Poor Law Administration in a Warwickshire Village.* By A. W. Ashby. [Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, edited by Paul Vinogradoff, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford, vol. III.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. v, 206; 190.) The first of these monographs began in a study of the conditions of land tenure and rural life in medieval Gascony, but the comprehensiveness of the scheme compelled the author to limit her investigation to one district, connecting it with the history of a great social organization.

The entire monograph is full of interest to those engaged in economic, industrial, or social questions, and has a wealth of detail. The style is clear and pleasing, though occasionally repetitious. In her introduction, the author calls attention to the interest which attaches to the whole of Gascony from the social and economic points of view, its varied physical characteristics producing divergent types of society and industry. This fact renders general conclusions unsafe unless they are based on the social and economic history of individual provinces in special detail. The Bordelais is therefore chosen as, on the whole, presenting the best features for study. Its geographical situation, its commerce, its viticulture, the relation of this industry to corn-growing

and cattle-rearing, and the effect of this on the history of agriculture and of the laboring classes, the characteristics of this estate as typical of other large properties, the varied forms of land tenure, etc.—these and other points justify the author's choice. Space permits little comment beyond the mention of the topics discussed. These are, the Lands of the Archbishop and of the Chapter; the Soil and the Settlements; Landholding and Landholders, (a) the Alod, Fief, and Censive, (b) the Questave and the Homme Questal, Revenues and Dues; Division of Soil and Methods of Cultivation; Vines and Vintage; and Salaries and Wages; tables give the prices of corn in the district (1332-1459); wages for different kinds of agricultural work (men and women); for vintage work in different places; and a comparison of wages for agricultural and non-agricultural work. An interesting point (under Cultivation) is the appearance of modern ideas regarding the use of the plough and of fertilizers in the vineyard.

The second monograph treats of "the range of problems arising from the attempts of eighteenth-century self-government to deal with poverty, sickness, and unemployment". First-hand materials are drawn, in numerous citations and in great detail, from the parish records of Tysoe, Warwickshire, during the period 1727-1827. Two maps compare the Enclosure Awards of 1796 and the ancient enclosures. The author discusses the economic structure and history of the parish before and after enclosure, with an analysis of the Enclosure Award. Chapters follow on the Village and its Population, its Administrative Organization, its Regulations as to Assessment and Rating, and to Settlement in, and Removal from, the Parish. The chapter on bastardy is striking. It shows that the government put a premium on this evil by fostering wrong economic conditions. The chapter on general relief has a suggestion of municipal ownership. The parish traded in coals and had its own malt-house and bakery. The remaining chapters deal with housing, the relief of sick persons, infants, and the impotent, the employment and relief of the able-bodied, and wages and prices.

C. T. WYCKOFF.

Les Dénombrements de Foyers en Brabant (XIV^e-XVI^e Siècle). Par Joseph Cuvelier, Archiviste Général du Royaume, à Bruxelles. (Brussels, Kiessling et Cie., 1912, pp. cccxxxix, 548.) When Philip the Good failed to receive from one of the first aids he levied in Brabant as much revenue as he had counted on, he decided to introduce a factor in assessment which had proved effective in neighboring provinces, notably in his ancestral Burgundy: the enumeration of houses, or dwellings. Such an enumeration was made in 1437; others followed in 1464, 1472, 1480, 1492, 1496, and 1526. Many documents arising in the course of these enumerations have survived, and M. Cuvelier has sought from them information on the population of Brabant in the later Middle Ages and the early sixteenth century.

His result is a real achievement. Most of the successful studies in

medieval demography thus far—notably in Germany—have related to towns. The materials available for wider groups have seemed so discouraging that not longer ago than 1882 one expert in the field, Paasche, declared unsolvable the problem of knowing, even approximately, the population of an entire region for medieval times. M. Cuvelier however, apparently by starting with the threads unravelled by French scholars in regard to the nature of house-enumerations in northern France, has sufficiently mastered the obstacles to fruitful interpretation of such documents to produce a study that both covers a whole region and seems fitted to stand the severest criticism—certainly the first trustworthy work of such scope on the population of the old Low Countries. He has succeeded in telling not only how many people there were in Brabant at successive times, but as well their distribution—as between town and country and where in each—and in considerable measure their economic and social status. The inhabitants numbered it would seem, in 1437, about 450,000. During the hard years toward the end of the century they decreased to 400,000. By 1526 they were a half-million, about one-fifth of the number dwelling in the same region to-day. As to the chief towns, Louvain, at the head in the fourteenth century but never with more than 25,000, slowly declined; Brussels, at its height in the early fifteenth, declined in turn; while Antwerp rose from some 16,000 in 1437 to about 50,000 in 1526—increasing, by forty years later, to double this number. All this, with much else, is set forth in a detailed introduction that extends beyond three hundred pages, and in a synoptic table of about fifty pages. In addition, forty-five of the documents employed are given, either *in extenso* or in part. They are so selected that the collection as a whole, besides showing the real character of the *fouages* in Brabant—enumerations not of abstract fiscal units but of actual houses—throws light on the administrative processes used to give effect to a grant of aid that was to be levied according to such an enumeration. The editing is done with all requisite pains, and the whole volume is published in the sumptuous manner long maintained for the quartos of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission.

A similar study on Luxembourg is in progress, with the first volume already in the press. It is to be hoped that the materials available for other provinces as well—some are known for at least Flanders, Hainaut, and Namur—may soon be utilized.

E. W. Dow.

The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli, together with Selections from his German Works. Edited with introduction and notes by Samuel Macauley Jackson; translations by Henry Preble, Walter Lichtenstein, and Lawrence A. McLouth. Volume I., 1510-1522. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xv, 292.) This volume begins the fulfilment of a plan long contemplated by the late Professor Jackson. Since his first publications on Zwingli and the Zürich Reformation, the materials have multiplied and the

papers of the reformer have been subjected to further critical recensions. A new edition of the *Works* of Zwingli now well advanced under the direction of Köhler and Finsler has furnished the contents of this volume, which now presents in English dress the Latin and German writings previous to 1523. These are introduced by a translation of the original life of Zwingli by Oswald Myconius, his friend and contemporary, who condenses the main facts of the reformer's career into the convenient space of twenty-four pages.

The writings of Zwingli are diversified in value. His fables, for example, are not worth preserving as literature, but they form part of the development which brings forth the author as a moral and political reformer. Nearly every thing in this volume displays Zwingli in his public character rather than in his purely personal aspects. He appears first in protest against the mercenary military service in his accounts of the Italian campaigns, but when firmly settled in his pastorate in Zürich his objections to ecclesiastical practices and theological doctrines gradually come to light. In 1522 appeared his pamphlet on the use of food in Lent and from that time on the war with the established system began to be earnest. The controversy was naturally held with his superior the Bishop of Constance, and the extreme point reached in 1522 was the petition of eleven ministers to permit the marriage of priests. This must have been an expression of views rather than an expectation that the rule would be changed, but it is most important for the development of the Reformation movement. The defense of the reformers at this stage is set forth with great particularity in Zwingli's reply to the bishop, dated August 22, 1522, and occupying nearly one hundred pages in the translation. The Reformation had not yet been officially adopted in Zürich at the point at which the present volume closes.

The labors of editor and translators must be highly commended. Occasionally one might quarrel with a word like "Senate" for "city council", but this was the Latin word used by Zwingli, and the fact is duly explained in the notes. The translation reads as smoothly as the originals well allow, as these are not at all models of style, either in German or in Latin. As to comments upon the text the editor had the benefit of the latest and most competent students of the period. As to type and appearance the series is in accord with the dignity of the subject.

J. M. VINCENT.

La France et le Saint Empire Romain Germanique depuis la Paix de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française. Par Bertrand Auerbach, Professeur à l'Université de Nancy. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.] (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1912, pp. lxxiii, 485.) It is a very bold enterprise with the possibilities of much labor and a small harvest to undertake a history of the relations between France and the Holy Roman Empire between 1648 and 1789. Some one, I believe it is Pro-

fessor Pollard, has called the old German Empire the Cheshire cat of history and if there ever was a time when the cat faded away leaving only its smile it was in the century and a half between the treaty of Westphalia and the beginning of the revolutionary wars. No one since the days of Putter has devoted to it any sober and largely conceived independent treatment. To attempt to find its policy is like trying to pick up a shadow. To seek the policy of any other nation in the records of the Diet at Regensburg is to turn one's back on realities and attempt to describe them from their reflection in a wavy and very badly cracked mirror. Existence was the sole duty of such an organization and its sole achievement. By that it consecrated and maintained an order that neither princes nor emperors, Catholics nor Protestants, natives nor foreigners, wanted seriously to disturb. It prevented German political atheism by keeping incense ascending before the altar of a dead political deity. So far as the empire is concerned the elaborate study of Professor Auerbach shows not only that the deity was dead but that his worshippers gave little else but lip-service.

Under such circumstances it could hardly be expected that large results would be obtained even by such a thorough treatment as the author has given the policy of the French—one might almost say of Louis XIV., for one-half the book is very properly given to his reign. The treaty of Westphalia was incomplete. Questions concerning Alsace had been left open for future adjustment. Louis sought to make his claims perfect and complete. For the sake of more extensive influence in Germany he tried to make use of the fact that he was a guarantor of Westphalia. When that did not achieve his purpose he claimed membership in the Diet. He thought of himself as a possible emperor. In fact he sought to do what the past of the monarchy and the voice of the French nation called upon him to do, to push French authority and boundaries to the Rhine. The thesis has been phrased by no one better than by Sorel (*L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, I. 244-336). The results in the period under consideration were *nil*. Gradually the efforts of Louis and his successors died away. The French envoys became successively weaker men, less well supplied with money and instructions. Their reports, like everything emanating from Regensburg, soon lost themselves in petty detail, were not read or were but tardily answered from Paris. The problem was passed on to the Revolution and the Bonapartes. The solution was furnished by Bismarck in 1870. It is at least interesting to see French scholarship still concerned in such an objective way with the question of Alsace and the Rhine frontier.

Professor Auerbach has done all that could possibly be done short of going through the reports from Regensburg now stored in the German archives and no one who has handled this material would exact that. He has used the French archives, the contemporary literature, of which some excellent summaries are given, and above all has exploited recent literature however fragmentary or deeply buried in academy proceedings and provincial historical publications. His foot-notes are

a mine of bibliographical information. Upon many subordinate points his work throws needed light, *e. g.*, the methods and temper of the imperial Diet, the knowledge or rather ignorance of French in Germany in the age of Louis XIV. (*cf.* pp. 51 and 210), etc.

G. S. FORD.

Le Congrès de Rastatt, 11 juin 1798-28 avril 1799. Correspondance et Documents publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, par MM. P. Montarlot et L. Pingaud. Tome II. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. 407.) The 143 documents included in this volume cover the extremely interesting months of the formation of the Second Coalition, as they run from September 28, 1798, to February 20, 1799. The actual negotiations at Rastatt were as dreary as ever, but the side-lights on the greater drama of diplomacy which was being enacted in the chief capitals of Europe afford entertainment if not instruction. Only once did the imposing diplomacy with the imperial deputation rise above triviality into major importance. The French ultimatum of December 6 startled the dilatory and wavering Austria sufficiently to postpone its avowed adhesion to the Second Coalition for three months. Austria's acceptance of the terms of the ultimatum set Roberjot seriously to the task of arranging a tentative schedule of territorial compensations east of the Rhine for the dispossessed princes, which was to serve Bonaparte and Talleyrand as a basis for the reorganization of Germany in 1803. By the end of February, Austria was acting in open defiance of France, but the French envoys continued at Rastatt treating with lesser German princes until the catastrophe of April 28.

Fifty-four of the documents are letters from Roberjot to Talleyrand, and sixty-nine from Jean Debry to Talleyrand, Treillard, Merlin of Douai, or Sieyès. There are thirteen other letters of Debry to various persons, and seven miscellaneous documents. The collection contains no letter from Bonnier, the third of the French envoys; and no letter addressed to Reubell, though Guyot's recent volume quotes from letters of Bonnier to Reubell. The collection, with two or three slight exceptions, contains no letters from the members of the Directory nor from Talleyrand to the envoys. Some, but not all, of the official notes exchanged by the two delegations in the Congress are included. Not a word of German correspondence appears. These volumes, therefore, are but a partial contribution to the documentary history of "*cette parade politique de Rastatt*".

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Scotland and the French Revolution. By Henry W. Meikle, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1912, pp. xix, 317.) This monograph is a discussion of the various political reforms agitated in Scotland in the period from 1780 to 1832. Although the title indicates that the author set out to determine the influence of the French Revolution

on these movements, he nowhere sums up his conclusion on that subject unless it be in the general statement (p. 215) that: "In Scotland, as in England, the French Revolution had retarded the progress of liberal opinion." But the eleven scholarly and enlightening chapters which Dr. Meikle has written afford ample evidence for more interesting and novel conclusions. His main theme, as he remarks in his preface, is "the political awakening of Scotland". It is true that he continually assumes that the American and French Revolutions played a large part in this awakening. But the bulk of the evidence offered in this book would seem to show that these discontents were rather caused by questions of a local character, such as the "patronage controversy", the agitation for burgh reform, the corn law of 1791, and in general the disposition of the government at London to favor the landed interests at the expense of the less fortunate classes. Indeed, Dr. Meikle seems at times to appreciate fully that the rapid growth of manufacturing industries and the consequent segregation of a laboring class had prepared the way for just such a democratic quickening as came in England and Scotland alike in the years from 1790 to 1794. The French Revolution merely gave the "shock" that "roused the industrial classes to political life" (p. 40). Nevertheless, the general impression that prevails in the book is that, since the politicians who opposed this democratic movement insisted on calling it a product of the French Revolution, somehow there was a causal relation between the cataclysm in France and the political ferment in Scotland.

Perhaps this question can never be finally settled. We cannot know whether the British laborers and artisans would so soon have given voice to their demand for a part in the government had not the Revolution in France taken place. But he little understands this movement in Great Britain who does not remember that its programme was formulated before 1789 and that the conditions that gave rise to it were very largely of a domestic character. And the most interesting as well as the most useful chapters of Dr. Meikle's study are those in which he sets forth in a rather striking fashion some of the aggravated conditions which caused the humbler classes in Scotland to begin to demand a voice in the councils of state.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

Mémoire de Marie Caroline Reine de Naples intitulé de la Révolution du Royaume de Sicile par un Témoin Oculaire. Par R. M. Johnston, M.A., Professeur Adjoint à l'Université Harvard. (Cambridge: Harvard University; London: Henry Frowde. 1912. Pp. xxvii, 340.) In the editing and publication of this document Professor Johnston has fulfilled his long-standing promise to readers of *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*, and has added a sixteenth volume to the *Harvard Historical Studies*. Why a volume in this series, essentially American as to authorship and publication, should be presented in French by a "Professeur Adjoint à l'Université Harvard", is not explained. The

question involved, being principally one of personal judgment, does not however call for discussion in so brief a review. The original of the memoir occupies some three hundred large pages of manuscript with "pièces justificatives" covering half as many more. It purports to relate the course of events in Sicily during the years 1805 to 1814, but is written for the avowed purpose of showing that the revolutionary movements of the time and the resulting misfortunes of an angelic and abused royal family were due to the malevolence of that "satrape Britannique", that "grossier caporal", Lord William Bentinck. Professor Johnston believes that the author was the queen herself and that the document was intended for presentation at the Congress of Vienna. While he does not succeed in establishing beyond question the authorship, from the internal evidence, which alone is available, he is able to arrive at a reasonable certainty from the style employed and the knowledge displayed. The corroborative proof, which he attempts to supply through facsimiles of handwriting, is inconclusive.

The work of the editor has been unsparing and skillful. In the foot-notes, which are extremely full and valuable, we have unpublished documents from the Record Office, the British Museum, Welbeck Abbey, and the Archivio di Stato at Naples, with citations from Blaquièrre, Crescieri (who by the way is invariably referred to as Crescieri), from Leckie, Orloff, and Marmont. From the careful collation of these materials the editor believes he has produced final proof that Marie Caroline was in correspondence with Napoleon and Murat, and that Bentinck was anything but the overbearing and violent proconsul described by Helfert and other apologists of the queen. Students of the period will probably agree with him, and will rejoice that several related problems have been advanced nearer to a final solution. But the fact that the most important results have been obtained from materials cited in the foot-notes raises doubt as to the wisdom of the whole method of presentation. Mr. Johnston has told us that his book "can only hope to obtain a circulation in directly inverse ratio to its historical interest and importance". Judged on such a test it will probably rank high. But it does not appear that either interest or importance would have been lessened had he made its appeal broader by telling the story in his own excellent style, retaining the copious documentation where it is really important, and sparing us the unpleasant necessity of following the tedious complaints and pitiful lies of this drug-deranged sister of Marie Antoinette.

HERBERT C. BELL.

Correspondance du Comte de la Forest, Ambassadeur en Espagne, 1808-1813. Publiée pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine, par Geoffroy de Grandmaison. Tome VI., Janvier-Août, 1812. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1912, pp. 403.) The sixth volume of the correspondence of the Comte de la Forest describes conditions in Spain from January to August, 1812. It opens with a dismal picture of King Joseph's actual situation, *peint par lui-même*. "I am reduced to the

province of Madrid. The Government of France has promised to advance me a million francs a month. My treasury has only received half of that and, moreover, the amounts for November and December are still due. I am in debt to everybody for even my most necessary current expenses. The misery of my civil servants is so great that one of my principal officials has no fire in his house and another has no bread. Can the Emperor take offense if I insist upon the prompt payment of the million a month?" (P. 7.) The volume closes with the French armies defeated at the hands of Wellington and with the king obliged to leave Madrid and able, only with great difficulty, to reach the north of Spain. This was the beginning of an end that was to come shortly and decisively.

As this series of volumes progresses the impression deepens that M. de la Forest discharged his vexatious and ungrateful task as French ambassador to the improvised and sorely harassed court of Spain with intelligence and fidelity. Joseph considers him the "intermediary" between himself and Napoleon and takes frequent occasion in the audiences which he grants to him to express frankly his grievances and complaints. These La Forest transmits to Paris without reservation, though evidently without sympathy. Indeed, it is these revelations of the varying states of Joseph's mind that give their main value to the despatches of the ambassador. From this point of view perhaps the most important section of this book is the lengthy despatch of April 11, 1812, descriptive of a very intimate interview of over three hours' duration between the ambassador and the king, an interview which covered a wide range of topics and included an exhaustive analysis of the general situation (pp. 170-183).

Joseph's financial expedients, necessarily "d'une stérilité extrême", his attempts, also necessarily futile, to build up a real national party among the Spaniards which should be favorable to his interests, his humiliating relations with the French marshals, who, with more or less politeness, defied or ignored him even after he had been made commander-in-chief, the hopeless antinomy between his position as King of Spain and as a French prince, the growing confidence and insolence of the enemies of France, their ingenious fecundity in the art of creating consternation among the French intruders by various devices, and the gradual and alarming emergence of Wellington as the leading personal factor in the general situation, are some of the subjects upon which this interesting volume throws vivid light.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Die Deutschen in Russland, 1812: Leben und Leiden auf der Moskauer Heerfahrt. Von Paul Holzhausen. (Berlin, Morawe und Scheffelt, 1912, pp. xxxii, 260.) This attempt to let the German survivors of Napoleon's Grand Army tell their own story of the terrible campaign of 1812 has produced an interesting narrative. The danger of an unwieldy mass of undigested evidence has been avoided as well

as the too strident sounding of the patriotic note. The great Corsican is treated throughout with profound respect and praise of the bravery of such leaders as Ney and Murat is never stinted. For the taste of the present reviewer at least there is too much military history, but the author may plead in excuse that many of his witnesses were expert soldiers and that without the orderly exposition of the campaign the human records which are his primary interest could not so clearly convey their vibrant message of sufferings, heroisms, and dark misdeeds. An immense material has been consulted, much of it stored in the archives of half a dozen German states and now brought to light for the first time. The tabulation of these sources in an appendix is for scholars a welcome feature of the work. The collective picture of the Russian disaster struck off by these German narrators gives a host of fresh and vivid touches, but is in the main merely corroborative of what has gradually established itself as the authentic story of the campaign. Thus we see that the dissolution of the army really began on the eastward march; we get new evidence of the Russian policy of devastation, including the deliberate destruction of the capital city; and we may once again convince ourselves that Napoleon's military genius did not decline in Russia, numerous as his strategic mistakes may have been, owing, as is only too plain, to a fundamentally mistaken political course. The skill of some of the impressionistic sketches of these German soldiers is surprising, as, for instance, the swift glimpse of Murat (p. 136) and the gripping narratives of the Beresina crossing (part II, pp. 112-116). The author's own power comes to the front throughout the chapters dealing with the retreat, which he develops into a comprehensive panorama without abandoning his plan of giving the floor to successive eye-witnesses. But the most enduring impression of this new tale of Napoleon's overthrow is, like all its predecessors, associated with the almost incredible sufferings of the poor soldiers, who once more pass before us in scenes more moving than the pictures Dante drew of his imaginary Hell. In spite of occasional degradation to stark savagery, the hero of the unique drama is man—the average European of whatever nationality—who seen trudging over the ice-bound Russian plain proclaims himself to be only a little below the angels.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Japanese Nation: its Land, its People, and its Life, with special Consideration to its Relations with the United States. By Inazo Nitobé, A.M., Ph.D., LL.D., President of the First National College, Japan. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. xiv, 334.) This book contains the lectures and addresses of the first exchange professor from Japan to the United States, which were delivered in America in 1911-1912. One gathers from the preface that Professor Nitobé's purpose is to serve as a convoy of "warm human feeling rather than of cold scientific truth", and to add a note toward the "fuller harmony of diverse nations or of discordant notions" (pp. vi, viii). Incidentally

to this purpose he presents more or less historical information, which is to be found chiefly in chapters ix., x., and xi. entitled, respectively, Japan as Colonizer, American-Japanese Intercourse prior to the Advent of Perry, and the Relations between the United States and Japan. Not much of this information is new. Some of it the author has drawn from his earlier book, *The Intercourse between the United States and Japan* (Baltimore, 1891), which contains materials apparently derived from Japanese sources. All who have attempted to write of American-Japanese relations have felt the need of materials of this kind. It is hoped that some day Professor Nitobé will be able to enlarge his contributions to a history of these relations by a thorough exploration of the sources of information in his own country.

A few doubtful or erroneous statements were noted. It is rather improbable that Commodore Porter wrote to Secretary Monroe in 1815 respecting a Japanese mission (pp. 262, 279). Mr. Edmund Roberts twice received instructions to negotiate with Japan (p. 262). Authorities are not agreed that "Commodore Biddle's mission was worse than a mere failure" (p. 269). Commodore Aulick proceeded to China and there received word of his removal (p. 276). The statement that the Japanese can call Perry the benefactor of their country "only by a rhetorical stretching of the term", while somewhat guarded by the author, is nevertheless extreme (p. 320).

C. O. PAULLIN.

Readings in American Constitutional History, 1776-1876. Edited by Allen Johnson, Professor of American History, Yale University. (Boston, New York, Chicago, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912, pp. xvii, 584.) Of the publication of source-books on American history there seems to be no end, yet this work fills a want not supplied by others such as those by MacDonald, Hart, Beard, Caldwell, and Reinsch. It is divided into nine parts, following for the most part the general periods of American history, with 192 documents to illustrate such topics as the administration of the colonies, formation of state and federal constitutions, relation and powers of Congress, the judiciary and the President, development of national sovereignty and states' rights, and the Constitution in its relation to slavery, the Civil War, and reconstruction. The book is intended to supply the needs of undergraduates in American history and is an application of the "case system" to the study of constitutional history. This is interpreted broadly and includes, as the author states, material on the history of governmental processes. The outlook is national, though some attention has been paid to state constitutional development. Besides chapters on the ordinary topics of constitutional development there are some which are particularly interesting and contain matter not so well brought out in other books of this type. For example one on presidential initiative in determining foreign policy, another on presidential dictatorship, and a third on the basis of the new democracy. Many cases are given while

the remainder of the material is drawn largely from such sources as the debates of Congress, writings of statesmen, messages of presidents, etc. The introductions to the several extracts are excellent though brief. There is no bibliographical apparatus other than a bare reference to the source from which the extract is drawn. This omission is somewhat unfortunate, for references might have been given to show students where to find contemporary or later comment on the principles of constitutional development illustrated by the extract. In this respect the volume does not compare favorably with those edited by MacDonald. The author would have added greatly to the value of the book if he had included material on the period since reconstruction. The development of the power of the executive and the judiciary since the Civil War with respect to their influence on legislation is a subject that the average undergraduate should know more about. However this book is a valuable addition to this phase of the literature of American history, and it should prove very useful for college instruction in the subject.

Causes and Effects in American History: the Story of the Origin and Development of the Nation. By Edwin W. Morse. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912, pp. xxvi, 302.) This is a book for the general reader—in fact for the very general reader. For the story with which the author deals ranges from the voyages of the Northmen to the conditions in Cuba in the early part of 1912, and all within the compass of less than three hundred pages. The style is pleasantly readable. The alert suggestiveness of the allusions to many important matters—they can hardly be more than allusions—will cause the book to find favor with the man who “wants a one-volume sketch of the whole thing”.

The title may mean anything, of course. As a matter of fact, Mr. Morse, in the course of the narrative presents many happenings as causes, and many as effects. And in a number of instances topics thus mentioned are developed with a generosity of space-allotment not usual in such general treatments. The chapter on the High Tide of American Commerce is an instance of this.

But the purpose of the writer is described in the preface in terms which indicate an ambitious project. He wishes to give a view of the “large currents of thought, feeling, and action which from generation to generation . . . have modified and shaped the destinies of the American people”. His aim is to emphasize “the important parts which intellectual and religious freedom, industrial and commercial activity, and even literature and the fine arts . . . have played in shaping the life of the people”.

To the reviewer it seems that this emphasis is achieved at the cost of clearness in bringing out the organic development of national life. The story of national development is more than a pageant. Political and party activities may not be the whole of national life but they live in closer relation to the heart of things than they are allowed to appear in this book.

CHARLES W. SPENCER.

Een Studie over het Grondbezit in de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika. Door Meester Hendrik ver Loren van Themaat. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1912, pp. vi, 111, vii). Dr. ver Loren van Themaat is a young Dutch burgomaster who, having a year of absence from his official duties, spent it in the United States, chiefly in Madison and Washington, in the study of the American land system. The present small book is a thesis toward obtaining the doctorate in political science at Leyden last July. It represents but a small portion of the large task which Dr. ver Loren has set himself, in the study of American landholding, for the benefit of his compatriots. A work upon this subject written in Dutch is obviously not addressed to American readers. The present chapters are frankly based on secondary materials, but on the best of such, and studied with care. They present an intelligent, accurate, though not always adequate, study of the processes of colonization and the development of land law and landed possessions in Virginia, North Carolina, New England, and Pennsylvania in the colonial period, and of those phases of land policy which mark the settlement, in the post-revolutionary period, of the up-country and western domains of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of western New York. In this last, as is natural, special attention is paid to the history of the Holland Purchase, though without bringing Dutch or other than American sources to bear upon that history.

Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts. Volume I., 1636-1656; volume II., 1656-1662. (Salem, Essex Institute, 1911, 1912, pp. viii, 502; x, 506.) These excellent volumes, edited by Mr. George Francis Dow, present the historical scholar with a wonderful mass of valuable material for the economic and social history of early Massachusetts. The county court, for nearly all the period involved, holding quarterly sessions, had jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases of all sorts, except cases of divorce, or of crime involving life, limb, or banishment. Its records for Essex County, and the part of old Norfolk County now in Essex, are voluminous, amounting to nineteen volumes for the period previous to 1692, with fifty-six folio volumes of accompanying papers and files. It is obvious how minute a mass of particulars respecting life in Essex County might be expected from such a source, and the two thick volumes before us do not disappoint this expectation. All is, to be sure, presented in abstract, but abstract very skillfully composed, in such a manner as to preserve every name and every fact that historian, genealogist, or sociologist need care for. Records and files have both been drawn upon, but are presented with appropriate distinction of typography. The indexes, sixty or seventy pages in each volume, are very elaborate, as in such a book they should be. The classified entries under such heads as Animals, Buildings, Clothing, Crimes (a case of accusation of witchcraft as early as 1659), Furnishings, Tools, Utensils, are models of intelligence, and will make the volumes useful to many to whom individual Essex County men and women are less an object of interest than early Massachusetts life.

Merchant Venturers of Old Salem: a History of the Commercial Voyages of a New England Family to the Indies and Elsewhere in the XVIII. Century. By Robert E. Peabody. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912, pp. 168.) This is the kind of book for which the student of economic history feels grateful. Unlike the political historian who deals mainly with public affairs, he must of necessity pry into the private business of individuals. What he desires most to find out is how the people gain their livelihoods and all the circumstances which affect their ability to do so. This is the part of every man's activity about which he is least likely to speak or write freely. It is accordingly extremely difficult to secure a thorough knowledge of economic life even in very recent times. To have the business affairs of one of the leading commercial houses of New England in the eighteenth century laid open is therefore something to be thankful for. The author of this volume has apparently had access to a large amount of the correspondence and accounts of the Derby family of Salem for two generations, from about 1735 to the end of the century, and from this source has gleaned much information concerning New England commerce during this period. Nothing new as to its general character is revealed, but many details are brought out which enable us to gain a much clearer understanding of its importance to the economic life of the community. Such for example are the lists of commodities which made up the cargoes of the ships with their values; the way these stocks of commodities were collected by the merchants for export and how they had to be peddled out in the West Indies; the risks which were incurred in times of peace as well as in war, with the rates of insurance paid; the enormous profits which sometimes resulted from a voyage; the nature of privateering as a business venture; the character of the men who carried on this trade and the kind of training they received; the instructions given to the captains and their financial transactions, the shares which they were given in the cargoes, together with the compensation paid to the officers and common seamen. Many more such details concerning the business activity of men in other callings are needed before we can reconstruct the economic life of colonial and revolutionary times.

GUY S. CALLENDER.

Journals of the Continental Congress. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by Gaillard Hunt, Chief, Division of Manuscripts. Volumes XIX., XX., 1781, January 1-April 23, April 24-July 22. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. xi, 436, 437-776.) These volumes are much smaller in bulk than their immediate predecessors, for the records in the journals become rather meagre, especially toward the end of the year. The year 1781 is nevertheless noteworthy in the history of the Continental Congress because of efforts toward important constructive legislation. It is especially signalized by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation as a result of their

ratification by Maryland after a long delay. That the Articles were, however, defective as an instrument of government had already become apparent, and measures were at once taken looking toward an enlargement of the powers of Congress (March 6, May 2, August 22). Important steps were also taken (February 16, April 5, July 18) toward establishing a system of federal courts. On the financial side, in particular, the federal system was on the verge of collapse. On January 15 Congress sent to the states an urgent appeal for funds with which to pay the arrears due the army, following up the appeal with statements of the condition of the federal finances (February 19, April 18). Meanwhile, the system of requisitions had proved to be so utter a failure that Congress took the important step of asking the states for power to levy a duty of five per cent. on imports, the proceeds to be used for discharging the principal and interest of the public debt. The hopes from this measure were destined ultimately to be dashed by the refusal of Rhode Island to sanction this federal tax. The country was saved from immediate bankruptcy through a subsidy from the French government and the assistance of that government in obtaining a loan. Another important series of measures was the overhauling of the executive departments by substituting single executive heads in place of the cumbersome and inefficient boards and committees of Congress. The appointment of a Superintendent of Finance (February 20) did much to put the finances of the Confederation on a sounder basis.

A Journey to Ohio in 1810, as recorded in the Journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight. Edited with an introduction by Max Farrand. [Yale Historical Manuscripts, I.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1912, pp. vi, 63.) It is not often that one reads a more charming account of life a hundred years ago than this first volume of the *Yale Historical Manuscripts* series. As the editor explains in the brief introduction, Margaret Van Horn Dwight, a niece of Timothy Dwight of Yale, and a great-granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards, travelled from New Haven to Warren, Ohio, in the fall of 1810, keeping this diary to send back to her cousin in New Haven. The journey was accomplished by wagon and occupied six weeks, the company including a deacon, of whose parsimony Margaret often complains, his wife, son, and daughter, and various others who joined them for brief periods. In addition to the enjoyment afforded by the writer's shrewd humor and delightful lack of self-consciousness the little volume is a valuable addition to the social history of the period and the region. The accommodations offered to travellers of the day were a continual source of complaint to Margaret, the beds dirty, the food poor, the people rude, indeed it became a cause of rejoicing before the journey was over to find a tavern which could afford the party a room to themselves. The dress, the language, and the habits of the people they met are all commented upon with keen interest. "We are at a Dutch tavern almost crazy. In one corner of the room are a set of dutchmen talking in dutch so loud, that my brain

is almost turn'd. . . . I believe at least 50 dutchmen have been here to day to smoke, drink, swear, pitch cents, almost dance, laugh and talk dutch and stare at us" (pp. 15, 16).

The journey stretched much beyond the time expected, and the high spirits of the writer and her interest in the country lessened before the weary trip across the mountains was over, but her courage did not fail. The form of the book is most attractive.

Governors' Letter-Books, 1840-1853. Edited with introduction and notes by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson, University of Illinois. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. VII., Executive Series, vol. II.] (Springfield, Ill., Illinois State Historical Library, 1911, pp. cxviii, 469.) This volume of the Illinois State Historical Library *Collections* contains the letters of Governors Carlin, Ford, and French, found in volumes IV., V., and VI. of the manuscript series of "Governors' Letter-Books" in the office of the secretary of state and in time covers the years from 1840 to 1853. Unfortunately, the manuscript series is incomplete. There are no letters of Governor Duncan's administration (1834-1838), none for the first year of Governor Carlin's (1838-1839), and none for the last year of Governor Ford's (1844-1845). The destruction in the great Chicago fire of a considerable number of the Duncan manuscripts renders impossible the completion of the series and the loss is a serious one.

The defeat of Black Hawk and the beginning of steam navigation upon Lake Michigan ushered in a period of rapid development (1834-1855)—a period in which the population of the state increased fivefold and changes, heavy with responsibility, followed closely upon each other. The rapid growth during the first few years of this period encouraged the state to undertake a gigantic scheme for internal improvement and to indulge in some reckless banking experiments which involved it in serious financial difficulties and all but destroyed its credit. We regret greatly the absence of letters for the years 1834-1839, which undoubtedly would have given us an insight into the responsibilities of an executive whose wisdom and patience must have been sorely tried in directing the over-enthusiastic legislatures which voted away the state's money to finance such ventures.

The period covered by this volume (1840-1853) is one in which the state suffered for the errors of preceding years. The internal improvement system had burdened it with a tremendous debt and consequently a great part of the correspondence of Governors Ford and French is devoted to the question of finances (chs. II., III., IV.). The financing of the Illinois-Michigan Canal, the only important project not abandoned after the collapse of the "system" occupies much of Governor Carlin's attention (ch. I.). This is by far the most valuable part of the work for the necessity of maintaining the financial integrity of the state pushed into the background other questions which would have demanded attention under ordinary conditions.

Some space is given to the discussion of the proposed Central railroad (ch. iv.), and some to the question of slavery which comes up in connection with the Eells and Wade cases (chs. ii. and iii.). The controversy between the state of Illinois and the city of St. Louis over the proposed improvement of the St. Louis harbor was sufficiently serious to cause Governor French to talk of using force to protect the rights of the state (ch. iii.). Little is said of such important affairs as the Mormon agitation or the constitutional convention of 1847.

An introductory chapter gives a careful account of Governor Ford's administration, treating of questions which receive little mention in the letters. An appended list of letters (371 in all) acts as a guide to the work and further assistance is given by an unusually complete index.

WILLIAM V. POOLEY.

Letters of Ulysses S. Grant to his Father and his Youngest Sister, 1857-1878. Edited by his nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. vii, 182.) This book contains sixty-four letters (running from August 22, 1857, to January 13, 1885) and a proclamation by Grant, and (pp. 159-182) a curious feminine justification of the South. The notes introducing the several letters for the most part clarify family relationships. The letters are mostly short and would be of little historical interest if not written by Grant. Still pages 12 to 14 refer interestingly to slavery conditions, 17, 19, 20, and 55, to politics, 28 to 36 enlistment, and 44 and 45 to secessionist sentiment in Missouri.

The letters confirm the commonly accepted views of Grant's character, but, while extremely reticent, suggest somewhat more change than is generally recognized. The first show a strong, simple, somewhat boyish and to all appearance commonplace man. The letter of April 21, 1861, to his father, giving his position on the war, is a noble and appealing document. That of February 9, 1862, after the capture of Fort McHenry, gives the best self-revelation. The joy of fighting, competence, and confidence, show that the man has found his vocation. "Your plain brother, however, has as yet no reason to feel himself unequal to the task, and fully believes that he will carry on a successful campaign against our rebel enemy. I do not speak boastfully but utter a presentiment."

Heavier responsibilities bring shorter letters, sometimes a little curt and grim. His father's interference disturbs him more than financial difficulties earlier, and he is forced constantly to resist attempts to use his influence to aid relatives or friends. Never an idealist, Grant emerges from the presidency a practical man of the world. He writes, March 29, 1878, expressing his disinclination to serve again as president, and his hope that the North will rally "and put in the Executive chair a firm and steady hand, free from Utopian ideas purifying the party electing him out of existence".

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Personal Recollections of the War of the Rebellion. Addresses delivered before the Commandery of the State of New York, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States. Fourth series. Edited by A. Noel Blakeman. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912, pp. viii, 380.) This volume includes a number of interesting papers relating to the Civil War. Rear-Admiral Goodrich writes of the life of a midy during the war when the "Naval Academy" was at Newport, Rhode Island; Edward Curtis describes the daily round of a military hospital in Washington and tells of the post-mortem examination of President Lincoln at which he assisted; and General Edward H. Ripley in a paper, *Memories of the Ninth Vermont at Harper's Ferry Tragedy*, gives an interesting account of the defense and surrender of Harper's Ferry in 1862.

George Haven Putnam has an exceedingly interesting paper (since published in separate form) on his experience in Virginia prisons during the last year of the war; and there are three papers on the treatment of prisoners North and South: one by John Read who tells, in particular, of conditions at Camp Groce, Texas; another by Thomas Sturgis who was adjutant of a regiment on guard at Camp Morton and then himself a prisoner at Libby; and the third by Clay W. Holmes on the Elmira Prison Camp.

Special mention should be made of the addresses by General Horace Porter and Horace White at the observance of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of President Lincoln; and of the paper *Lincoln's Last Hours* by Dr. Charles A. Leale who was the first physician to reach the President's side after he was shot and attended him to the moment of his death.

The other papers that appear are interesting but do not call for comment. Nor do the sermons, except, perhaps, that of the Rev. Morgan Dix who prays, "God save us from the passion for further amendment of the noble instrument, [the Constitution] and would to God we might not see another amendment for fifty years to come!"

The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress, 1912. Edited by Francis G. Wickware, B.A., B.Sc. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1913, pp. xx, 876.) This, the third issue of the *Year Book*, in scope and form is practically the same as the issue of 1911, though the order of topics has been varied somewhat, and the topics have been more carefully subdivided. The statistics which formed the first two sections of the last volume have been placed in the departments to which they appertained, thus bringing the article on American history to the beginning of the volume. The greater part of this article, written by Professor James A. Woodburn, of the University of Indiana, is concerned with the presidential campaign of the past year, giving an excellent account of the events leading up to the nominations, written with much restraint. The remaining pages of this section treat of the doings of Congress and the closing events of the year. The editor adds

a short account of the Titanic disaster. International relations are dealt with as adequately as could be expected, by Mr. Philip M. Brown, formerly United States Minister to Honduras, and foreign affairs by Messrs. Dudley Harmon, Charles Lyon Chandler, Ernest H. Godfrey, and the editor. The series continues to prove a valuable condensed record of events of the year.

Les Fêtes du Troisième Centenaire de Québec, 1608-1908. Publié par le Comité du "Livre-Souvenir" des Fêtes-Jubilaires. (Quebec, Laflamme and Proulx, 1911, pp. 630.) Probably no historical celebration on the North American continent was ever carried out on so large a scale or in a manner so calculated to appeal to the historical imagination as the tercentenary celebration at Quebec in 1908. An elaborate record of this event has been prepared by Abbé Camille Roy under official auspices, which contains an account day by day of the proceedings and events with detailed descriptions of the pageants. Of historical material the volume contains a number of old views of Quebec, and a "Liste des Familles de la Province de Québec dont les Descendants occupent (en 1908) la Terre ancestrale depuis deux cents Ans ou plus." This list of over 260 families is a striking evidence of the social and economic effects of over two centuries of feudal social organization. While the present volume will in years to come constitute a most valuable document it is perhaps to be regretted that it was not thought feasible, as an important part of the celebration to bring out a notable series of documents bearing on the history of the French régime, such for example as the completion of the publication, abandoned in 1891, of the *Jugements et Deliberations du Conseil Supérieur de la Nouvelle France*.

NOTES AND NEWS

For the first time since the foundation of this journal, a number appears not bearing upon its cover, in the list of the Board of Editors, the name of Professor George B. Adams of Yale University. He was a member of the conference which founded the REVIEW, and has been chairman of the Board from the day of its organization to the present time. That he should have declined re-election is a matter of regret to all concerned with the REVIEW, and most of all to those who have known most intimately its history during the eighteen years of its existence, and who can best appreciate the invaluable quality of the services which he has rendered in its development and guidance. It has been mentioned on a preceding page that Professor Edward P. Cheyney of the University of Pennsylvania has been chosen by the Executive Council of the American Historical Association to fill the vacancy resulting from the resignation of Professor Adams.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The official address of the treasurer of the Association has been changed from New York to 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

A price list of the publications of the Association is being prepared, and copies will be sent upon application to the secretary.

The prize essay for 1911, *The Political Activities of Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, by Dr. Louise F. Brown, has lately been published as a duodecimo volume of 258 pages. Subscriptions are to be sent to the secretary of the Association. The annual report for 1911 is in press, and will be distributed as soon as possible in the present year.

In the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History* an edition of the *Journal of Jaspar Danckaerts*, the Labadist emissary, concerning his travels in America, mostly in the middle colonies, in 1679-1680, prepared by the Rev. B. B. James and Dr. J. F. Jameson, will appear this spring. The next volume, to be issued in the autumn, is expected to be edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln, and will be devoted to Narratives of the Indian and French Wars of the period from 1675 to 1698. It will contain several of the tracts relating to King Philip's War, the Captivity of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, and Cotton Mather's *Decennium Luctuosum*.

PERSONAL

Dr. Thomas Hodgkin died on March 2, at the age of eighty-one. A wealthy banker, of the society of Friends, he early spent his leisure in historical composition. Later he retired from business, to devote himself entirely to history, dwelling in a castle in Northumberland but travelling extensively. His great work, one recognized as of high merit, was a series of eight volumes on *Italy and Her Invaders* (1880-1889). He also wrote the first volume of the *Political History of England* (1906), and books on Theodosius, on Theodoric, and on George Fox. He was a man of the highest and most kindly character.

Professor Léon-Gabriel Pélissier, dean of the faculty of letters at Montpellier, died on November 9, 1912, at the age of forty-nine years. He was known for his studies on the relations between France and Italy, especially during the reign of Louis XII., of which the latest was *Documents relatifs au Règne de Louis XII. et à sa Politique en Italie* (Montpellier, 1912, pp. 320).

Professors James F. McCurdy of the University of Toronto, John H. Latané of Washington and Lee University, and Henry A. Sill of Cornell University will lecture to classes in the University of Chicago during the summer session.

Professor William MacDonald of Brown University will teach in the summer session of New York University, Professor Clarence E. Carter of Miami University in that of Columbia University, Mr. Roscoe R. Hill in that of the University of California.

Professor Charles V. Langlois, the eminent medievalist of the University of Paris, has been made director of the Archives Nationales.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams will deliver this spring the lectures on American history provided for by a recent foundation at the University of Oxford. His theme will be the diplomatic relations between the United States and Great Britain during the American Civil War.

Dr. Annie H. Abel, associate professor of history at Goucher College, has recently been appointed to superintend the classification of the Old Files in the Indian Office and to prepare historical material for publication. The first work is to be connected with the history of the Southwest, later, documents dealing with the second Seminole War, and with the history of the Northwest will be edited.

Professor Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan will have leave of absence from June 1913 for the ensuing academic year.

GENERAL

General review: M. Prinnet, *Chronique des Sciences Auxiliaires de l'Histoire, Numismatique, Sigillographie, Héraldique* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

The January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* contains, besides an account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, and a list of doctoral dissertations now in progress in various American universities, an article on Teaching the Crusades in Secondary Schools by Professor Dana C. Munro, and one on Teaching the United States Bank in Grammar Grades by Professor Albert H. Sanford. The February number contains a lecture on the Future Uses of History, delivered this winter before the trustees of the Carnegie Institution by J. F. Jameson, and papers by various hands on the Use of the Lantern in History Classes, on the Teaching of the History of Art, on the Economics of Slavery, and on Waste in History Instruction. The issue for March opens with a paper by Mr. Sydney G. Fisher on the Legendary and Myth-making Process in the History of the American Revolution, which is followed by one on the Basis of Historical Teaching by Mr. Samuel B. Howe, and another by Mr. Claude S. Larzelere on the History Teacher and the Peace Movement.

The annual winter session of the History Section of the California Teachers' Association was held in San Francisco on January 3. The first annual meeting of the Tennessee History Teachers' Association occurred at Nashville on January 16. The History Teachers' Association of Maryland met on February 15 in Baltimore. The next meeting of the Indiana Association will be held about April 1; that of the History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland at Syracuse, on April 18 and 19; and that of the History Teachers' Association of Nebraska in May. The sixth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Omaha, Nebraska, on May 8, 9, and 10.

The Library of Congress expects hereafter to prepare and print an annual list of all American doctoral dissertations actually printed.

Professor Aloys Meister has himself contributed the section on *Methodik* to his *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, while Dr. O. Braun, privatdocent at Münster, has written the section on *Geschichtsphilosophie*. These two articles form the sixth fascicle of the first volume (Leipzig, Teubner, 1913, pp. 63), and are packed full of useful information.

A recent essay in the history of international law is A. Raestad's *La Mer Territoriale, Études Historiques et Juridiques* (Paris, Pedone, 1912).

The sixth volume of the Vicomte d'Avenel's *Histoire Économique de la Propriété, des Salaires, des Denrées* bears the subtitle *L'Évolution des Dépenses Privées* (Paris, 1913, pp. 700).

Dr. Theresa S. McMahon, instructor in the University of Washington, is the author of a careful study of *Woman and Economic Evolution or the Effect of Industrial Changes upon the Status of Woman*, which

was presented at the University of Wisconsin as a doctoral dissertation in 1908 and is now published by that university as vol. VII., no. 2, of the *Economics and Political Science* series.

Professor Frank P. Graves, author of *History of Education before the Middle Ages* and *History of Education during the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times*, will shortly bring out through the Macmillan Company a concluding volume of the series, the *History of Education in Modern Times*.

The Nobel Institute of Christiania has begun the publication of a *Catalogue* of its library. The first of the four volumes contemplated, a valuable bibliography, deals with *Littérature Pacifiste* (Christiania, Aschehoug, New York, Putnam, 1912, pp. 238).

Vice-Admiral R. Siegel of the German navy is the author of *Die Flagge* (Berlin, Reimer, 1912, pp. xv, 267), a history of flags, richly illustrated in colors.

Two recent additions in the field of history to the *Home University Library* (Holt) are *Napoleon* by Mr. Herbert Fisher, and *The Navy and Sea-Power*, by Mr. David Hannay.

The Economic Utilization of History is the title of a small book by Professor Henry W. Farnam, which the Yale University Press has just published.

Under the joint auspices of the American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-Lore Society a journal entitled *Current Anthropological Literature* began to be published in 1912, which we believe will provide the best means available to the American historical student for keeping acquainted with recent progress in anthropology. Its contents are chiefly reviews of books and articles, short notes, and items of news.

A bibliography important to those interested in the history of medicine is "Texts illustrating the History of Medicine in the Library of the Surgeon General's Office, U. S. Army", compiled by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison, assistant librarian in the office of the surgeon-general. This is a reprint from volume XVII., second series, of the *Index Catalogue* of the library. The texts are enumerated chronologically, beginning with the Code of Hammurabi about 2250 B. C. and extending to publications of 1910.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Michels, *Zur Historischen Analyse des Patriotismus* (Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik, XXXVI. 1); A. Hofmeister, *Genealogie und Familienforschung als Hilfswissenschaft der Geschichte* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 4); H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age* (American Museum Journal, December, 1912).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: M. Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne, Grecque et Romaine*, III. *Rome et le Monde Romain* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); J. Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines*, I. (Revue Historique, January).

Professor and Mrs. George Willis Botsford have compiled *A Source-Book of Ancient History* which is published by Macmillan and Company.

M. Hoernes, in three small volumes entitled *Kultur der Urzeit*, has given a résumé of present knowledge of the stone age, the bronze age, and the iron age. Good bibliographies are appended (Leipzig, Göschen, 1912, pp. 147, 128, 120).

Dr. Eugène Cavaignac has undertaken a *Histoire de l'Antiquité* in three volumes, somewhat on the model of the works of Bury and Belsch. The publication has begun with the second volume, *Athènes, 480-330* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1912). The third volume, on *La Macédoine, Carthage, et Rome, 330-168*, is promised for 1913, while the first volume, on the earliest times, will appear last. Dr. Cavaignac is also the author of a *Histoire Financière d'Athènes du Ve Siècle, le Trésor d'Athènes, 480-404* (Paris, Fontemoing).

Legrain's *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur, Recherches sur la Société Antique d'après des Textes Nouveaux* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 159, and album of 57 plates) forms the 199th number of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company have published *The History of the People of Israel in Pre-Christian Times*, by Mary Sarson and Mabel Addison Phillips, with a preface by Rev. A. A. David. The book traces the course of Hebrew history, with some comment on the documents pertaining to this history found in the Old Testament.

Volume XV. of the new edition of Pauly-Wissowa's *Encyclopaedia* has recently appeared, extending from "Helikon" to "Hestia". With it appears the announcement that a second staff is to begin work on the letter R, thus hastening forward the completion of the work.

Greek and Roman Portraits, by Dr. Anton Hekler (Putnam) contains 311 plates ranging from the fifth century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. There are also forty pages of comment, a bibliography, and a table giving the location of each portrait, the whole furnishing excellent illustrative material for the study of Greek and Roman history. A German book of the same class and intention, beautifully executed, is Dr. Richard Delbrück's *Antike Porträts* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1912, pp. lxx), with 62 plates presenting portraits Egyptian, Greek, and Roman.

A standard work for students is Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, which is much more

comprehensive than this author's *Handbook*, though he regards it as an enlarged edition of the *Handbook*.

The third and last volume of Professor B. Perrin's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* has recently been issued by Messrs. Scribner. This volume includes Nicias and Alcibiades.

The Oxford University Press (Mr. Henry Frowde) will shortly issue *Aristarchus of Samos*, by Sir Thomas Heath, and *Antigonos Gonatas*, by Mr. W. W. Tarn.

Professor Ettore Pais has begun a *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli* with a volume of more than 800 pages, divided into three parts, dealing with the sources, the mythical period, and the regal period (Rome, Loescher, 1913).

Mr. H. Stuart Jones has furnished in his *Companion to Roman History* (Clarendon Press) a good handbook, provided with 80 plates, 65 other illustrations, 7 maps, and a text which is both interesting and informing, though open to some criticism in respect to questions of inclusion and exclusion.

Roman Laws and Charters, translated and edited by Dr. E. G. Hardy, contains Dr. Hardy's *Six Roman Laws* with three additional laws concerning the municipal system of the early empire, and two utterances of Claudius II. on the organization of non-municipal units in North Italy and Gaul.

Le Travail dans le Monde Romain, by P. Louis (Paris, Alcan, 1912, pp. 416), forms a part of the *Histoire Universelle du Travail* edited by Professor Georges Renard. The period of Roman history is treated in three parts, before the Punic Wars, from the Punic Wars to Augustus, and the imperial period, but within these periods the author is not always careful to note the varying conditions (reviewed by M. Besnier, *Journal des Savants*, January).

J. L. Strachan-Davidson has published two volumes on *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, pp. xxii, 246, 288).

Messrs. Kiepert and Huelsen have published a new and enlarged edition of their well-known work on the topography of ancient Rome, *Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae* (Berlin, Deimeyer, pp. xix, 162), accompanied with four large maps.

The Cults of Ostia (pp. 98), by Lily Ross Taylor, appears as a *Bryn Mawr College Monograph*. The author has made extensive research for facts relating to worship in the old Roman port.

Two recent studies of Roman law and institutions refer especially to Egypt. E. Revillout has written *Les Origines Égyptiennes du Droit Civil Romain* (Paris, 1912), and N. Hohlwein, *L'Égypte Romaine, Recueil de Termes Techniques relatifs aux Institutions Politiques et*

Administratives de l'Égypte Romaine, suivi d'un Choix de Textes Papyrologiques (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 619).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Meyer, *Untersuchungen über die älteste Geschichte Babylonien und über Nebukadnezars Befestigungsanlagen* (Sitzungsberichte der k. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, XLVII.); J. V. Prášek, *Kyros der Grosse* (Der Alte Orient, XIII. 3); *id.*, *Kambyses* (*ibid.*, XIV. 2); W. Schulze, *Der Tod des Kambyses* (Sitzungsberichte der k. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1912, XXXVII.); H. Vincent, *Les Noms de Jérusalem* (Memnon, VI. 2); U. Kahrstedt, *Phoenikischer Handel an der Italischen Westküste* (Klio, XII. 4); A. Boucher, *La Tactique Grecque à l'Origine de l'Histoire Militaire* (Revue des Études Grecques, July); M. P. Nilsson, *Die Grundlagen des Spartanischen Lebens* (Klio, XII. 3); E. Cavaignac, *La Population du Péloponnèse aux V^e et IV^e Siècles* (*ibid.*); A. Schulten, *Die Ausgrabungen in und um Numantia, 1905-1912* (International Monatschrift, January); M. Bang, *Die Herkunft der Römischen Sklaven, II. Die Rechtsgründe der Unfreiheit* (Mitteilungen des k. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., XXVII. 3); W. Judeich, *Das Ende von Caesars Gallischer Statthalterschaft und der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges* (Rheinisches Museum, LXVIII. 1); K. Eymmer, *Cäsar und Tacitus über die Germanen* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XXXI. 1); C. Jullian, *César et Drusus en Germanie, I.* (Journal des Savants, January); L. Holzappel, *Römische Kaiserdaten, I. Nero und Galba* (Klio, XII. 4); L. Deubner, *Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius* (Mitteilungen des k. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., XXVII. 1); L. Joulin, *Les Âges Protohistoriques dans l'Europe Barbare* (Comptes Rendus, July); F. Haverfield, *Ancient Rome and Ireland* (English Historical Review, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The second and concluding volume of *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* by Achelis has appeared (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912).

Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources, by Carl Clemen, translated by R. G. Nisbet (Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark) is a study of the origin of Christianity based on ample knowledge of ancient religions and of the results of modern scholarship.

The third volume of O. Bardenhewer's *Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur* has the subtitle, *Das Vierte Jahrhundert mit Ausschluss der Schriftsteller Syrischer Zunge* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. x, 665).

A recent volume of the *Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique* deals with *Nestorius et la Controverse Nestorienne* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1912, pp. viii, 326), and is from the pen of J. Martin.

Volume III. of Professor Hartmann Grisar's *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages*, edited by Luigi Cappodelta (Kegan Paul),

carries the account to the end of the sixth century in as able a manner as that which characterizes the earlier volumes.

L'Afrique Chrétienne by J. Mesnage (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. xii, 593) is a supplement to *La Géographie de l'Afrique Chrétienne* of Mgr. Toulotte, whose investigations the author has completed (reviewed, *Revue Archéologique*, July).

A British and Breton saint of the sixth century is the subject of *La Vie de Saint Samson, Essai de Critique Hagiographique*, by R. Fawtier (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. ii, 180). A new critical edition of the text of the *Vita Sancti Samsonis* is appended. The volume is number 197 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. von Sybel, *Die Magier aus Morgenland* (Mitteilungen des k. Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abt., XXVII. 4); P. Allard, *Une Nouvelle Théorie sur le Martyre des Chrétiens de Lyon en 177* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); Professor J. W. Thompson's thesis is also controverted by Harnack in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, XXXVIII. 3); A. d'Alès, *Tertullien et Calliste, l'Édit de Calliste* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, October); P. J. Healy, *Constantine's Edict of Toleration* (*Catholic University Bulletin*, January); *id.*, *Social and Political Significance of the Edict of Milan* (*ibid.*, February); F. Savio, *La Conversione di Costantino Magno e la Chiesa all' Inizio del Secolo IV.* (*La Civiltà Cattolica*, February 15).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General reviews: K. Dietrich, *Die Byzantinische Zeitschrift und die Byzantinischen Studien in Deutschland* (*Internationale Monatschrift*, December); D. De Kok, *Les Études Franciscaines en Hollande depuis 1894, Notes Bibliographiques et Critiques* [conclusion] (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, October).

Aicher's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Tagesbezeichnung im Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, Wagner, 1912) is a recently published aid to research in medieval history.

H. Lammens has gathered into a small volume three articles published in the *Revista degli Studi Orientali* on Ziad Ibn Abihi, *Vice-roi de l'Iraq, Lieutenant de Mo'awia I.* (Rome, 1912, pp. 139). The work is a critical study of a provincial governor who placed Mohammedan power on a firm basis in a recently conquered region, within a generation after the death of the Prophet. Another recent publication of Professor Lammens is *Fatima et les Filles de Mahomet, Notes Critiques pour l'Étude de la Sira* (Rome, Bretschneider, 1912, pp. viii, 170).

The registers of Pope John VIII. have recently been published in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae* (Berlin, Weidmann).

A collection of *Études sur l'Histoire Byzantine*, by Professor Alfred Rambaud, has been published with a preface by Professor Diehl (Paris, Colin, 1912). One of the studies deals with the Bulgarian wars of the tenth century.

The fifty-seven days' pontificate of Gregory VIII. on the eve of the Third Crusade was crowded with activity which promised a notable administration, when it was cut short by sudden illness. Dr. G. Klee-mann's thesis, *Papst Gregor VIII., 1187* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1912, pp. 62), furnishes an excellent account, with abundant bibliographical apparatus, of the life and pontificate of this pope.

To the rich contributions of the past year to the history of the mendicant orders, the following additions are worthy of note. K. Hefele's *Die Franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien während des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i. B., Herder, 1912, pp. 85) is practically a life of St. Bernardin of Siena. Louis Gillet has published a series of lectures under the title of *Histoire Artistique des Ordres Mendicants* (Paris, Laurens, 1912, pp. 376), which extends to the seventeenth century. The sixth volume of Mortier's *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. 542) runs from 1589 to 1650.

Interest in the period of the Avignon papacy has been manifested by a considerable number of recent publications. The latest include an additional volume of the *Lettres de Jean XXII.* edited by A. Fayen for the *Analecta Vaticano-Belgica* (Paris, Champion, 1912), and W. Scheffler, *Karl V. und Innocenz VI.* (Berlin, Ebering, 1912). In *Vienne au Temps du Concile, 1311-1312* (Paris, Picard, 1912, pp. 66), the Abbé Claude Bouvier has summarized existing knowledge of that little-known general council. A. Seraphim has edited *Das Zeugenverhör des Franziskus de Moliano, 1312, Quellen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Königsberg, Bever, 1912).

Two notable contributions to the history of the Council of Basel have recently appeared. Paul Lazarus has undertaken a comprehensive history of the council in his *Das Basler Konzil* (Berlin, Ebering, 1912, pp. 359), while A. Eckstein's *Zur Finanzlage Felix' V. und des Basler Konzils* (Berlin, Trowitzsch, 1912, pp. 97) deals only with the inconsistent financial expedients to which the council found itself compelled to resort (reviewed by F. Callaey, *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rosenstock, *Zur Ausbildung des Mittelalterlichen Festkalenders* (*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, X. 3); J. de Ghellinck, *La Littérature Polémique durant la Querelle des Investitures* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); H. Simonsfeld, *Zum Päpstlichen Schreiben von 1157, Besançon* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 4); F. Van Ortro, *S. François d'Assise et son Voyage en Orient*. (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXI. 4); Paschal Robinson, *A Conjectural Chapter in the Life of St. Clare* (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, October).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General reviews: M. Dunan, *Le Système Continental*, *Bulletin d'Histoire Économique*, 1900-1911 (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); P. Bailleu, *Kriegsgeschichtliche Zentenarliteratur* (Deutsche Rundschau, December).

M. Hobohm has made a very valuable contribution to the history of the art of war in his *Machiavellis Renaissance der Kriegskunst* (2 vols., Berlin, Curtius, 1912; reviewed by H. Delbrück, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, February).

The Oxford University Press announces vol. III. of P. S. Allen's edition of the *Letters of Erasmus*, 1517-1519.

A notable volume on the relations between France and Germany has been published by Professor P. Boissonade of the University of Poitiers, a *Histoire des Premiers Essais de Relations Économiques Directes entre la France et l'État Prussien pendant le Règne de Louis XIV., 1643-1715* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. vi, 484).

The last addition to the *Special Campaign* series is *An Outline of Marlborough's Campaigns*, by Capt. F. W. O. Maycock.

During the past year two volumes have been added to the *Histoire Générale de l'Église* (Paris, Bloud) by Professor Fernand Mourret of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. They will form volumes six and seven of the completed work, and deal with *L'Ancien Régime*, and with *La Révolution, 1775-1823*. The earlier volume is especially comprehensive in scope, and though written by an ardent Roman Catholic includes chapters on Protestantism, the eastern churches, and the philosophical movement of the eighteenth century. Three chapters are devoted to the history of the papacy during the period. The Gallican movement, Jansenism, Quietism, the work of St. Francis of Sales and of St. Vincent de Paul, the rise of the new religious orders, and the missionary activities in America, Africa, and the Far East are all treated. The volume covers a period of church history which has been neglected and misunderstood. In spite of its emphatically Catholic point of view and carelessness in proof-reading, this volume by Professor Mourret is a useful contribution (reviews by P. Allard, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October; and by A. Cans, *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, November).

A *Bibliographie de la Franc-maçonnerie et des Sociétés Secrètes*, including both printed and manuscript materials in French and Latin, is being compiled by P. Fesch, J. Denais, and R. Lay. The first fascicle, A to Cérémonie, has appeared (Paris, Société Bibliographique, 1912, pp. 276).

Philippson's *Die Aeusserer Politik Napoleons I., der Friede von Amiens, 1802* (Leipzig, Fock, 1912) and S. Bradisteanu, *Die Beziehungen Russlands und Frankreichs zur Türkei in den J. 1806 und 1807* (Berlin, Ebering, 1912) are new studies on two important features of the

Napoleonic diplomacy. Two further volumes are worth adding to the list of 1812 centenary literature: André Bouvery, *Cent Ans après 1812, Rostopchin et Kutusof, Documents Authentiques relatifs à l'Histoire de la Campagne de Russie* (Paris, Challamel, 1912), and Col. C. T. Hellmüller, *Die Roten Schweizer, 1812* (Bern, Frank, 1912, pp. 298).

No. 12 of the *Special Campaign* series is an excellent work on *The Ulm Campaign, 1805*, by Col. F. N. Maude, C. B., late of the Royal Engineers, this being the third study which Col. Maude has contributed to the series.

Pierre Albin has revised and brought up to date his collection of important treaties since 1815, *Les Grands Traités Politiques*, in a second edition (Paris, Alcan, 1912). The first volume of a new *Histoire Politique du XIX^e Siècle* is published by Paul Feyel (Paris, Bloud, 1913, pp. viii, 579).

Edmond Bapst's *Les Origines de la Guerre de Crimée* (Paris, Delagrave, 1912, pp. 518) deals with the relations between France and Russia from 1848 until the outbreak of the war. F. Charles Roux has made a detailed study of a later phase of the relations of the two countries in *Alexandre II., Gortchakoff, et Napoléon III.* (Paris, Plon, 1913, pp. 568).

The Abbé Albert Houtin, himself a modernist, has written an excellent and sympathetic *Histoire du Modernisme Catholique* (Paris, the author, 18 rue Cuvier, 1913, pp. 458; reviews by A. Aulard, *La Révolution Française*, January; and by P. Alfarié, *Revue Critique*, January 25).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Salaris, *Gl' Italiani nella Guerra di Russia, Malo-Jaroslavetz, 24 Ottobre 1812* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); E. W. von Baumbach, *Persönliche Erlebnisse im Feldzug gegen Russland, 1812* (Deutsche Rundschau, December); A. Fournier, *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress* [conclusion] (*ibid.*); S. Goryainov, *The Secret Agreement of 1844 between Russia and Great Britain* (Russian Review, July, November); F. C. Roux, *La France et l'Entente Russo-Prussienne après la Guerre de Crimée* (Revue Historique, January); L. Rava, *Dal Codice Civile al Codice del Lavoro* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); D. Schäfer, *Die Deutsch-Französische Sprachgrenze* (Internationale Monatschrift, October).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, I. (Revue Historique, January).

In partial pursuance of the recommendations recently made by the Royal Commission on Public Records, to the effect that a permanent committee of especially qualified scholars should be appointed to superintend the publications of the Public Record Office, the Master of the Rolls has assembled, under his own chairmanship, an advisory committee to assist him for the present in the planning and superintendence of such

publications as are edited by persons not members of the permanent official staff. The advisory committee now consists of the Master of the Rolls, chairman, the Deputy Keeper of the Records, vice-chairman, Professors C. H. Firth, A. F. Pollard, T. F. Tout, and Paul Vinogradoff, Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, and Messrs. C. G. Crump and C. Johnson of the Record Office, the last acting as secretary.

Among Messrs. Dutton's spring announcements is *English History and Schools of History*, by Professor Richard Lodge.

An important contribution to English industrial history is Miss O. Jocelyn Dunlop's *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: a History*. The volume contains a supplement on the modern problem of child labor written by Miss O. J. Dunlop and Mr. R. D. Denman.

Three volumes have been recently added to the *Victoria History of the Counties of England* (Constable): *Bedford*, vol. III., edited by William Page; *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, vol. V., also edited by Mr. Page; and *Surrey*, vol. IV., edited by H. E. Malden.

The Manorial Society has just issued its sixth annual report, which cites, among the publications of the society, *A Concordance of all Written Lawes concerning Lords of Mannors* by William Barlee (1578), edited, with a biographical preface, by the deputy-registrar; and *Kentish Manorial Incidents* by Mr. H. W. Knocker. The society is preparing a card index of all references to manors and manorial documents in the volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

Das Keltische Brittannien, by Professor E. Windisch of the University of Leipzig, is published in the *Abhandlungen der k. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. XXIX. 6.* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912, pp. 190). The struggles of the Celts with the Romans and with the Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of the Celts are treated, but the author as a philologist has naturally given liberal attention to the Arthur legend.

The second volume of the series the *Birth of the English Church*, published by John Murray, is *Saint Augustine of Canterbury*, by Sir Henry H. Howorth, K. C. I. E.

The Youth of Henry VIII.: a Narrative in Contemporary Letters, by Mr. Frank A. Mumby, is to be published shortly by Messrs. Constable.

Volume 48 of the *Record Series* of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society contains papers relating to the suppression of the monasteries in Yorkshire, edited by J. W. Clay (1912, pp. xii, 196).

Dr. Hornemann has published a monograph on *Das Priory Council von England zur Zeit der Königin Elizabeth* (Hanover, Hahn, 1912).

The University Press at Oxford, England, has just published a brochure of forty-three pages entitled *John Penry, the so-called Martyr*

of Congregationalism as revealed in the Original Record of his Trial and in Documents related thereto, edited, with preface, introduction, and notes, by Champlin Burrage, B.Litt., librarian of Manchester College, Oxford. The discovery of the original records of Penry's trial (1593) furnishes an important contribution to an important incident in the early history of the English Separatist movement.

Mr. Bernard Nutter's *The Story of the Cambridge Baptists and the Struggle for Religious Liberty* (Cambridge, England, Heffer) is a study of the part played by the University of Cambridge in the early history of the Separatists.

Father William Forbes Leith has published, through the press of Longmans, two volumes of *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, the material being selected from manuscripts hitherto inedited.

Professor G. Rouard de Card of the University of Toulouse is the author of a monograph on *La Défaite des Anglais à Tanger en 1664* (Paris, Pedone, 1912).

The Journal of John Stevens: containing a brief Account of the War in Ireland, 1689-1691 (Oxford, Clarendon Press), printed from a manuscript owned by the British Museum, well edited by the Rev. Robert H. Murray, is a valuable addition to the history of the Revolution in Ireland.

In *The Memoir of Sir Horace Mann* (Kegan Paul) by I. G. Sieveking, the author's interest in the subject of the volume has been distinctly secondary to his interest in the personality of Prince Charles Edward, the Young Pretender.

A brief but carefully written essay by Mr. J. A. Lovat Fraser on *John Stuart, Earl of Bute* (Putnam) is an attempt to interpret that statesman's character in the non-partizan spirit of von Ruville's portrait rather than in the spirit of the biased writings of the earlier historians.

Professor William T. Laprade of Trinity College, North Carolina, is editing for the Royal Historical Society the papers of John Robinson, secretary of the treasury under Lord North. These papers, which consist chiefly of letters, notes, and memoranda, contain valuable information about the secret service, government patronage, and parliamentary elections. They are to appear in the society's *Camden Series*.

The Windham Papers, in two volumes (Herbert Jenkins), with an introduction by the Earl of Rosebery, not only give an excellent picture of William Windham but also throw new light on the relations between England and France during the French Revolution.

An excellent account of the *Campaign of Trafalgar* (Longmans), viewed as part of Pitt's plan of war rather than as an achievement of Nelson, comes from the pen of Julian S. Corbett, lecturer in history to the Royal Naval War College and author of notable books in English naval history.

The Correspondence of Lord Burghersh, afterwards Eleventh Earl of Westmorland, 1808-1840, edited by his granddaughter and published by John Murray, while covering a wide range of topics, is especially valuable for its vivid picture of Italian affairs during Lord Burghersh's ministry at the court of Tuscany, 1813-1830.

Volume III. of Monsignor Bernard Ward's *The Eve of Catholic Emancipation* has recently appeared (Longmans).

John Lane announces *Life and Letters of William Cobbett in England and America*, by Mr. Lewis Melville.

The Union of South Africa, by W. Basil Worsfold (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company), is a survey of the physical characteristics of the country, the character of the native races, and the history of European colonization, by an author who has already written much on South Africa.

A valuable study of English colonization by a French observer is *La Politique Indigène de l'Angleterre en Afrique Occidentale* (Paris, Hachette, 1912, pp. xxxix, 561). The book is an account of the formation of English establishments in western Africa, especially during the last generation, based upon observations made during residence in the districts concerned.

British documentary publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XVIII., 1623-1625, ed. A. B. Hinds; *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem*, vol. III.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: N. S. B. Gras, *The Origin of the National Customs-Revenue of England* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); L. V. D. Owen, *England and the Low Countries, 1405-1413* (English Historical Review, January); G. Constant, *Le Commencement de la Restauration Catholique en Angleterre par Marie Tudor, 1553* (Revue Historique, January); C. Read, *Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council* (English Historical Review, January); L. Riess, *Die Lösung des Maria Stuart Problems* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 2); H. W. V. Temperley, *Documents Illustrative of the Powers of the Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century* (English Historical Review, January); W. C. Abbott, *The Fame of Cromwell* (Yale Review, January); E. Lipson, *The Elections to the Exclusion Parliaments, 1679-1681* (English Historical Review, January).

FRANCE

General reviews: R. Reuss, *Histoire de France, Révolution* (Revue Historique, January); L. Alloing, *Chronique de l'Est de la France*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

M. Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* has now been issued in completed form (Paris, Edouard Cornély, 1912, pp. xxxix, 831). The entries run

to more than 13,000 numbers, and the indexes, of authors and persons and of places, occupy 136 pages. Upon the value of such a guide it is not necessary to dilate. Its method is sufficiently described by saying that it is the same as that of the *Répertoire Méthodique* of MM. Brière and Caron, of which the first volume was that for 1898, but which extended over the whole modern field, whereas the present work is confined to the materials on the period since 1789.

Professor E. Levasseur has written a *Histoire du Commerce de la France* (Paris, Rousseau, 1912). The work is in two volumes, one for the period prior to the Revolution, and the other for the period since 1789.

In the series of manuals for the use of historical investigators issued by Picard of Paris, J. Roman has published a *Manuel de Sigillographie Française* (1913, pp. vii, 400). The first volume of a *Manuel de Numismatique Française* by A. Blanchet and A. Dieudonné (1913, pp. vii, 431) extends through the Carolingian epoch. The early iron age, or Hallstatt period, is covered in the second volume of J. Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique, Celtique, et Gallo-Romaine* (1913).

The council general of the department of the Seine has undertaken the publication of a series of monographs on the history of the eleven communes annexed to Paris in 1859. The first volume dealt with Bercy; the second volume, by Lucien Lambeau, is on *Vaugirard* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 538). The materials relate mainly to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An appendix includes twenty-one important documents, while frequent extracts from documents and references to the sources throughout the volume testify to the careful researches of the author. The volume is handsomely printed and fully indexed.

An unusually important contribution is Henri Hauser's *Le Traité de Madrid et la Cession de Bourgogne à Charles-Quint* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 186). It is especially a study of the national sentiment in Burgundy in the years 1525 and 1526. The writer proves that there was no meeting of the States General at Cognac in the latter year, but only a meeting of the council.

The publications during the past year relating to Richelieu include the third volume (1620-1623) of his *Mémoires* published by the Société d'Histoire de France; M. Deloche, *La Maison du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. iii, 586); the first volume of J. Tournyol du Clos, *Richelieu et le Clergé de France, la Recherche des Amortissements d'après les Mémoires de Montchal* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1912); and *Le Cardinal de Richelieu et la Réforme des Monastères Bénédictins* (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. xvi, 511). The last work is the first volume of a *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Bénédictine*.

The two-volume *Histoire des Séminaires Français jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1912, pp. xv, 440, 543), by Professor A. Degert, of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, is a chapter in the history of religious education, which will interest the students of the history of

both France and New France (reviewed by E. Albe, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October, 1912).

In *La Dime Ecclésiastique de XVIII^e Siècle et sa Suppression* (Bordeaux, Imprimerie de l'Université, 1912, pp. xx, 403), Henri Marion has produced a valuable general study in legal history, but the work can scarcely be considered definitive, as the archives of only a few departments have been studied in relation to the subject. A brief account of the *dîmes inféodées* is included (reviewed by Camille Bloch, *La Révolution Française*, January).

Madame Royale, Fille de Louis XVI. et de Marie-Antoinette: sa Jeunesse et son Mariage, by Ernest Daudet (Hachette), and *Les Fiançailles de Madame Royale, Fille de Louis XVI., et la première Année de son Séjour à Vienne* (Plon-Nourrit) cover much the same ground, though the second is the result of a wider use of documents.

Alphonse Dunoyer's *Fouquier-Tinville, Accusateur Public du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, 1746-1795* (Paris, Perrin), because of the author's wide knowledge and careful use of documents, is of considerable historical value.

The Journal of the Comte d'Espinhal during the Emigration, edited by Ernest d'Hauterive and translated by Mrs. Rodolph Stawell, is published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

In the *Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*, Charles Porée, archivist of the department of the Yonne, has published the first volume of *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux dans le District de Sens* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. ccxlv, 500). The extended introduction contains many carefully prepared tables. The commission in charge of this series has issued as the first part of the 1912 volume of its *Bulletin d'Histoire Économique de la Révolution* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 352) a collection of the principal legislative and administrative documents regarding the regulation of commerce from 1788 to 1803. These are edited with an introduction by C. Schmidt, and are intended as a guide for the editors of documents in the series.

The most recent publications of the Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française are Félix Mourlot's *Le Cahier d'Observations et Doléances du Tiers État de la Ville de Caen en 1789*, and Pierre Caron's *Le Comité Militaire de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention* (Paris, 1912).

The most important recent volumes on the local history of the Revolution include *La Révolution à Nice, 1792-1800* (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. xi, 237) by Dr. Joseph Combet, professor of history at the lycée of Nice; *Le Club des Jacobins de Tulle*, which contains the complete journals of the club from 1790 to 1795 (Paris, Leroux, 1912, pp. 610); *La Révolution à Alençon, Année 1789* (Alençon, Coueslant, 1912, pp. xv, 304) by

Adhémar Leclère; and *La Mission du Conventionnel Lakanal dans la Dordogne en l'An II*. (Paris, Champion, 1913, pp. xxii, 710).

M. Christian Pfister, who is already known for his contributions to the history of Nancy and of Lorraine, has published *Les Assemblées Électorales dans le Département de la Meurthe, le District, les Cantons, et la Ville de Nancy* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912, pp. xxx, 403). The volume contains the *procès-verbaux* of all the elections from 1789 to 1800, and a list of all officeholders in the circumscriptions concerned during the period. The documents are elucidated and illuminated by notes and other materials. The volume stands in a class almost by itself, as the only other works of the sort are Eschasseriaux's volume for the Charente-Inférieure, and the incomplete publications of Charavay for Paris and of Rouvière for the Gard (reviews by A. Aulard, *La Révolution Française*, December, 1912; and by C. Constantin, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, October, 1912).

The second volume of Picard and Tuetey's *Correspondance Inédite de Napoléon I^{er} conservée aux Archives de la Guerre* covers 1808 and 1809 (Paris, Lavauzelle, 1912, pp. 856).

There have recently appeared two volumes on the Commune: Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset's *La Commune à Paris et en Province* (Paris, Tallandier, pp. vii, 303), and the second volume of the extremely detailed study by Edmond Lepelletier on the *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Paris, *Mercure de France*, 1912, pp. 520), which deals with the central committee during the week March 18-26.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Kurth, *Étude Critique sur la Vie de Sainte Geneviève* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, January); L. Levillain, *La Succession d'Austrasie au VII^e Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, January); E. Lesne, *La Dime des Biens Ecclésiastiques aux IX^e et X^e Siècles*, I, II, III. (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, July, October, January); L. Batiffol, *Un Bourgeois du XVII^e Siècle* [Michel de Marillac, garde des sceaux] (*Revue de Paris*, January 15, February 1); A. Schinz, *La Question du "Contrat Social"* (*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, October); A. Aulard, *La Féodalité sous Louis XVI*. (*La Révolution Française*, February); A. Wahl, *La Politique Réaliste de Robespierre* (*Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire*, October); J. Colin, *La Place de Napoléon dans l'Histoire Militaire* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, January); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Napoléon et le Peintre David* (*ibid.*); F. Masson, *L'Inceste de Napoléon et Pauline à l'île d'Elbe* (*ibid.*); J. S. Worm-Müller, *Ledende Idcer i Fransk Historie-skrivning i det 19^{de} Aarhundrede* (*Samtiden*, XIII. 8); F. Blanc, *Le Comité Exécutif de Lyon en 1848* (*La Révolution de 1848*, November); É. Mayer, *Henry Houssaye, Notes sur sa Documentation* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: E. Pandiani, *L'Opera della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1858-1912* (*Rivista Storica Italiana*, October).

From the Cambridge University Press comes *The Early History of the House of Savoy, 1000-1233*, by C. W. Previté Orton, a thorough and valuable study of the period in which the counts of Savoy were building up their power.

K. Burdach and P. Piur have published the third and fourth volumes of the *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912).

The subtitle of the third volume of R. Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz* is *Die Letzten Kämpfe gegen die Reichsgewalt* (Berlin, Mittler, 1912, pp. xiv, 954).

T. Persico is the author of a volume on *Gli Scrittori Politici Napoletani dal 1400 al 1700* (Naples, Perrella, 1912, pp. xx, 414). Volume 31 of the *Historische Bibliothek* is an essay on Machiavelli as an historian, entitled *Machiavellis Geschichtsauffassung und sein Begriff Virtù*, by E. W. Mayer (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. viii, 125).

The rise to power of the elder Cosimo de' Medici in the fifteenth century is the subject of A. Anzilotti's *La Crisi Costituzionale della Repubblica Fiorentina* (Florence, Seeber, 1912; reviewed by R. Morcay, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, October).

C. Fedeli's *Studi e Ricerche sulla Storia dell'Ordine di Malta* (Pisa, Mariotti, 1912) contains a series of letters from the grand masters of the order to the dukes of Urbino from 1558 to 1623 (reviewed by C. Cipolla, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, October).

The siege of Turin in 1706 is the central topic in the sixth volume of *Le Campagne di Guerra in Piemonte* (Turin, Bocca, 1912, pp. xv, 541) by G. Roberti, A. Segre, and P. Valente.

Several monographs have recently appeared dealing with the French activities in Italy after the Revolution, including A. Mattioli, *Le Correnti di Parte e la Poesia Politica in Modena durante la Rivoluzione del 1796* (Modena, Soc. Tip. Modenese, 1912, pp. 25); U. Benassi, *Il Generale Bonaparte, il Duca, e i Giacobini di Parma e Piacenza* (Parma, Tip. Federale, 1912, pp. 114); L. Ginetti, *Napoleone I. a Parma* (Parma, Tip. Coop. Parmense, 1912, pp. 40); B. Croce, *La Rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799* (Bari, Laterza, 1912, pp. xxiii, 473); F. Nicolini, *Saggio Storico sulla Rivoluzione Napoletana del 1799, seguito dal Rapporto al Cittadino Carnot di Francesco Lomonaco, di Vincenzo Cuoco* (Bari, Laterza, 1912, pp. 395); and G. Natali, *La Vita e il Pensiero di Francesco Lomonaco, 1772-1810* (Naples, Stabilimento Sangiovanni, 1912, pp. 122).

Two recent additions to the Cavour literature are Pietro Orsi's *Cavour e la Formazione del Regno d'Italia* (Turin, Società Nazionale, pp. 382), and Ida N. Micheli's *Cavour e Garibaldi nel 1860, Cronistoria Documentata* (Rome, Tip. Sociale, pp. 223). A bibliography of the Risorgimento, *La Storia del Risorgimento Italiano nei Libri, Bibliografia Ragionata* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1912), has been prepared by Ernesto Masi.

The number for September, 1912, of the *Revista Popolare*, published at Rome and Naples, is devoted exclusively to an article on Aspromonte, which is stigmatized in the subtitle as the greatest crime of the Italian monarchy. The account of the expedition is supplemented by personal recollections drawn from memoirs and various other sources, and by the judgments on the affair expressed by many noted Italians. The article is fully and excellently illustrated.

E. Lémonon treats the half-century of Italian unity in *L'Italie Économique et Sociale, 1861-1912* (Paris, Alcan, 1913).

The *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* for July was dedicated to the memory of its late editor, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, and contained a dozen articles on his life and work contributed by different writers.

Mr. Julius Klein, Woodbury Lowery Fellow in Spanish History at Harvard University, has had the good fortune to discover at Madrid the archives of the Mesta, or Sheep-Raising Organization of Spain, hitherto unknown to Spanish archivists and historians. These archives contain a number of royal charters of privilege to the Mesta from the fourteenth century onward, minutes of the meetings of the Concejo de la Mesta, accounts, notes on trials of cases between the Mesta and various individuals, pueblos, and religious organizations, and reports of the different Mesta officials. This rich collection is now the property of the Asociacion General de Ganaderos, and Mr. Klein has been given access to it through the great courtesy of the Marques de la Frontera, secretary of that association. He is at present engaged in summarizing and copying the most important documents in the collection.

Dr. E. Masoin, an alienist, has presented what seem to be convincing proofs of the insanity of the unfortunate Mad Joanna in *La Mère de Charles-Quint, Jeanne de Castille, dite la Folle, fût-elle réellement Aliénée? Etude Historique et Médicale* (Brussels, Goemaere, 1912, pp. 48).

We have recently received two large volumes in which the third Viscount de Santarem has published the minor and scattered writings of the second Viscount de Santarem, edited by Jordão de Freitas, under the title, *2º Visconde de Santarem: Opusculos e Esparsos* (Lisbon, Imprensa Libanio da Silva, 1910). About sixty pieces are included, of which the longest is the "Notícia dos Manuscritos que se achao na Bibliotheca Real de Paris, pertencentes ao Direito Publico Externo Diplomatico de Portugal e a Historia e Literatura do mesmo Paiz." A third volume, containing unpublished works of the same erudite historian, is promised, and like the other volumes will be gratuitously distributed by his grandson, the present viscount.

In a pamphlet of a dozen pages, Sr. Jordao de Freitas reviews the question, *Quando foi Descoberta a Madeira?* (Lisbon, Imprensa Libanio da Silva, 1911).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Andreas, *Graf Baldassare Castiglione und die Renaissance* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 3); G. Natali, *Francesco Lomonaco e il Sentimento Nazionale nella Età Napoleonica* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); R. De Cesare, *Alessandro Poerio, Enrico Cosenz e la Battaglia di Custoza* (ibid., February 1); G. Daumet, *Louis de la Cerda ou d'Espagne* (Bulletin Hispanique, January).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: E. A. Goldsilber, *Courrier Allemand*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); R. Kötzschke, *Geschichte der Wirtschaftlichen Kultur Deutschlands, die Aeltere Zeit*, I. (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 3).

In the series of *Historische Studien* published by Ebering of Berlin, the most recent issues are: F. J. Biehringer, *Kaiser Friedrich II.*; W. Norden, *Erzbischof Friedrich von Mainz und Otto der Grosse*; F. Schneider, *Herzog Johann von Bayern, Erwählter Bischof von Lüttich und Graf von Holland, 1373-1425*; and F. Hülsen, *Die Besitzungen des Klosters Lorsch in der Karolingerzeit*.

G. Weise has made a useful study of the relations of Church and State in the early Middle Ages in *Königtum und Bischofswahl im Fränkischen und Deutschen Reich vor dem Investiturstreit* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912).

Henry the Lion, the Lothian Historical Essay for 1912 (London, Simpkin and Marshall), by Austin Lane Poole, is an excellent summary of the events in the life of Henry.

J. Haller's *Die Marbacher Annalen* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912) is an important critical study of the sources for the Hohenstaufen period.

Köster's *Die staatlichen Beziehungen der Böhmisches Herzöge und Könige zu den Deutschen Kaisern von Otto dem Grossen bis Ottokar II.* (Breslau, Marcus, 1912) is an important addition to the history of the rise of Bohemia.

Dr. J. Vota (said to be the pseudonym of a well-known German historian) has used important new sources in *Der Untergang des Ordensstaates Preussen und die Entstehung der Preussischen Königswürde* (Mainz, Kirchheim, 1913, pp. xxiv, 608), as he has been granted unusual freedom of access to archives both in Berlin and Vienna. The work extends from the treaty of Thorn in 1466 to the acquisition of the royal title in 1701.

Among the recent publications on Luther and the Reformation in Germany are: P. Kalkoff's *Zu Luthers Römischen Prozess, der Prozess des Jahres 1518* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912, pp. ix, 214), republished with some additions from the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*; A. V. Müller's *Luthers Theologische Quellen, seine Verteidigung gegen Denifle*

und Grisar (Giessen, Töpelmann, 1912); Hecker's *Religion und Politik in den letzten Lebensjahren Herzog Georgs des Bärtigen von Sachsen* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1912); Völker's *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1912); and the volume of *Kirchengeschichtliche Forschungen, insbesondere zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912) published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Theodor Brieger, professor of church history at Leipzig.

A number of recent monographs on the military and diplomatic history of Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are worthy of note: N. Wimarson, *Sveriges Krig i Tyskland, 1675-1679* (Lund, Geerup, 1912); H. Schilling, *Der Zwist Preussens und Hannovers, 1729-1730* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1912); Turba, *Die Grundlagen der Pragmatischen Sanktion* (vol. II., Vienna, Deuticke, 1912); and Preitz, *Prinz Moritz von Dessau im Siebenjährigen Kriege* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912).

The relations between the enlightened despotism and the Church in Germany have recently been studied by W. Windelband in *Staat und Katholische Kirche in der Markgrafschaft Baden zur Zeit Karl Friedrichs* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1912); and by M. J. Mack in his thesis on *Die Reform- und Aufklärungsbestrebungen im Erzstift Salzburg unter Erzbischof Hieronymus von Colloredo* (Munich, Böck, 1912, pp. 127). Another work on the archbishopric of Salzburg is *Die Kurie und die Salzburger Kirchenprovinz* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912), by A. Brackmann.

A very expensive illustrated volume has been brought out by Wilhelm John, the director of the military museum in Vienna, on *L'Archiduc Charles, le Maréchal et son Armée* (Vienna, Klarwill, 1913). A three-volume life by Cieste of *Erzherzog Karl von Oesterreich* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1912) has also appeared. Professor Delbrück has completely revised *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neidhardt von Gneisenau* in a third edition (Berlin, Stilke, 1913). The second volume of the *Lebenserinnerungen* of General Karl von Wedel, edited by K. Tröger, covers the period 1810-1858 (Berlin, Mittler, 1912). A volume of reminiscences by Prince August of Thurn and Taxis bears the title, *Aus Drei Feldzügen, 1812-1815* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1912).

The German general staff has undertaken the publication of *Das Preussische Heer der Befreiungskriege*, the first volume of which deals with the army of 1812 (Berlin, Mittler, pp. viii, 640). The numerous maps and sketches are of the highest value. The general staff has also issued a volume on *Kolberg, 1806-1807* (Berlin, Mittler, 1912, pp. xii, 293). The third volume of F. Friederich's *Die Befreiungskriege* deals with the campaign of 1814 (Berlin, Mittler, 1912). Another volume on the Napoleonic wars is Lieut.-Col. Sauzey's *Les Allemands sous les Aigles Françaises, les Soldats de Hesse et de Nassau* (Paris, Chapelot, 1912, pp. 296).

Professor Karl Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte der Jüngsten Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* deals primarily with the last three decades

of the nineteenth century. The first volume treats the economic and social development, and the second the domestic politics and foreign relations (Berlin, Weidmann, 1912, pp. xvi, 519; xiv, 563). The last quarter-century of German history is sketched in P. Meinhold's *Wilhelm II., 25 Jahre Kaiser und König* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1912).

Principles of Prussian Administration, by Professor Herman G. James of the University of Texas (Macmillan, 1913, pp. xiv, 309), is prefaced with a brief sketch of the history of the Prussian administrative system.

Max Foltz's *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts* (Danzig, Kafe-mann, 1912, pp. xi, 615) is a full investigation of the city's administration from its foundation down to 1910, but the portion of greatest importance is that on the Polish period from 1454 to 1793.

Professor M. Doeberl of the University of Munich has published the second volume of *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1912, pp. viii, 496), which covers the period from the peace of Westphalia to the death of King Maximilian I. in 1825. A third volume will complete the work.

The Commission for the Modern History of Austria expects to publish this spring the second volume of the treaties with England, edited by A. F. Pribram, and the first volume of the *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.*, ed. W. Bauer, and later in the year the first volume of the *Korrespondenz Maximilians II.*, ed. V. Bibl. The manuscript of the third volume of Dr. Ludwig Bittner's *Chronologisches Verzeichniss der Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge* is expected to be ready before long.

A *Generalregister* (Vienna, Holder, 1912, pp. xiii, 187) has been published of the first one hundred volumes of the *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, formerly *Archiv für Kunde Oesterreichischer Geschichtsquellen*, and for the nine supplementary volumes of the *Notizenblatt*, which were published from 1851 to 1859.

Duncker and Humblot of Leipzig have recently issued a *Geschichte der Böhmisches Industrie in der Neuzeit* by A. Salz.

The second volume of H. Friedjung's *Geschichte Oesterreichs von 1848 bis 1860* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1912, pp. xii, 569) deals mainly with Schwarzenberg and contains an appendix of important documents.

Though written in a somewhat popular style, *Handelspolitik und Ausgleich in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, Holder, 1912, pp. vi, 253), by Professor Josef Grunzel, gives an excellent and useful survey of a subject which has needed an enlightening treatment.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rosenstock, *Würzburg, das erste geistliche Herzogtum in Deutschland* (*Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, XXIV, 1); W. von Brünneck, *Geschichte der Soester Gerichtsdie Preussische Politik im Winter 1812 bis 1813* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, XXXIII.); M. Meyhöfer, *Die Kaiserlichen Stiftungsprivilegien für*

Universitäten (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, IV. 3); F. Hartung, *Die Reichsreform von 1485 bis 1495, ihr Verlauf und ihr Wesen*, I. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIV. 1); O. Schiff, *Thomas Münzer und die Bauernbewegung am Oberrhein* (Historische Zeitschrift, CX. 1); O. Braun, *Herders Ideen zur Kulturphilosophie auf dem Höhepunkt seines Schaffens* (ibid., CX. 2); P. Bailleu, *Preussen am Scheidewege, Die Preussische Politik im Winter 1812 bis 1813* (Deutsche Rundschau, February); E. Brandenburg, *Die Verhandlungen über die Gründung des Deutschen Reiches, 1870* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 4); O. Schneider, *Bismarcks Finanz- und Wirtschaftspolitik* (Staats- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, 166); G. Goyau, *Bismarck et l'Église, la Fin du Kulturkampf*, VI. [conclusion] (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Professor P. J. Blok has begun the issue of a second edition of his standard *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk*. In a sense it may be regarded as a third edition, since the intermediate German version (though not the English) represents distinctly a personal revision by the author. The new issue will be in four volumes. Volume I. (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1912, pp. 708) includes the contents of volumes I. and II. of the original, carefully revised with attention to the investigations published since their issue in 1892 and 1893.

The Linschoten Society has in preparation editions of Pieter de Marees's *Beschrijvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Coninkrijck van Guinea (1600-1602)* and the first book of Cornelis de Houtman's *Historie van Indien*, containing the adventures of the Dutch ships from 1595 to 1597.

Major-General A. N. J. Fabius is the author of an excellent monograph entitled *Het Leven van Willem III.* (Alkmaar, Kluitman, 1912, pp. vii, 394). The work is divided into three parts, dealing with his youth, his stadtholderate to 1689, and his career after he became king of Great Britain and Ireland.

The third volume of the fourth series of the *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1912, pp. xvi, 624) is edited by T. Bussemaker and covers 1756-1759.

In connection with the centenary of national independence, and because of the new privileges which they acquired through that event, the Catholics of the Netherlands are planning to publish a memorial volume entitled, *Katholiek Nederlands, 1813-1913*, written by co-operation.

To the original ten volumes of the *Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes Imprimés concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique* compiled by Alphonse Wauters, a supplementary eleventh volume has been added by the late Stanislas Bormans and J. Halkin, of which the first part was

published in 1907, and the second part (1250-1300) in 1912. The work is a publication of the Commission Royale d'Histoire de Belgique (Brussels, Kiessling).

The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has published C. Terlinden's *Liste Chronologique Provisoire des Édits et Ordonnances des Pays-Bas, Règne de Philippe II., 1555-1598* (Brussels, Goemaere, 1912, pp. vii, 319), and the second volume of V. Brants's *Recueil des Ordonnances des Pays-Bas, Règne d'Albert et d'Isabelle*, covering 1609-1621 (Brussels, Goemaere, 1912, pp. iii, 512).

In the *Rapport* for 1911-1912 of the historical seminary of the University of Louvain the portion of most interest to our readers will be the comprehensive and valuable survey, by an American, Father P. Guilday, of the history of the English religious establishments in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: A. Bugge, *Geschichte der Nordischen Kultur* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, X. 3).

The third volume of Professor M. C. Gertz's *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum* has recently appeared. The book is issued by the Society for the Publication of Sources of Danish History (Copenhagen, Gad).

E. Bull has published *Folk og Kirke i Middelalderen, Studier til Norges Historie* (Christiania, Gyldendal, 1912, pp. 272), a history of the Church in Norway in the Middle Ages.

Swedish negotiations with England, France, and Russia during the Crimean War are recounted in A. Cullberg's *La Politique du Roi Oscar Ier pendant la Guerre de Crimée*, of which Jordell of Paris has published the first volume.

Die Europäisierung Russlands im 18. Jahrhundert by C. Mettig has been published as the second volume of A. Bruckner's *Geschichte Russlands bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* in Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte*. This valuable contribution is supplemented at an interesting point by F. Andreae, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Katharinas II., die Instruktion vom J. 1767 für die Kommission zur Abfassung eines Neuen Gesetzbuches* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1912). The Grand Duke Nicolas Mikhaïlovitch has added to his historical writings a life of *L'Empereur Alexandre Ier*, in two volumes (Paris, Manzi, 1913, pp. xi, 544, v, 556).

M. Gaston Cahen's edition of *Le Livre de Comptes de la Caravane Russe à Pékin en 1727-1728* is a valuable reference book for students of Russian relations with the East.

A little brochure by E. Fiodorow on *La Révolution Finlandaise en Préparation, 1889-1905* (Paris, Welter, 1912, pp. 88), purports to contain "documents sensationnels publiés pour la première fois".

Six Années, la Russie de 1906 à 1912, is an adaptation by G. Dru of a Russian work by P. Poléjaïeff (Paris, Plon, 1912).

The Byzantine Research and Publication Fund and the British School at Athens will soon publish through Henry Frowde *The Church of St. Irene at Constantinople* by Mr. W. S. George, with an historical notice by Dr. A. van Millingen and an appendix on the monument of Porphyrios by Mr. A. W. Woodward and Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

Professor N. Jorga of the University of Bucharest published the fifth volume of his *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, extending from 1774 to the beginning of 1912, almost at the moment when the present war broke out. The work is included in Lamprecht's *Allgemeine Staaten-geschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1912; reviewed by E. Gerland, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, December 21).

A new *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (La Chapelle-Montligeon, Orne, 1912, pp. xii, 503) is by Father Guérin Songeon, of the Augustines of the Assumption.

Stojan Novaković's volume on the Servian struggle for independence, which is the standard work on the subject, has been made accessible to western readers through a timely German translation by G. Grassl, with the title *Die Wiedergeburt des Serbischen Staates, 1804-1813* (Sarajevo, 1912, pp. viii, 185).

La Jeune Turquie et la Révolution (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1912) is by A. Sarrou, who was a commandant in the Imperial Ottoman gendarmerie.

Lieutenant Wagner's *Vers la Victoire avec les Armées Bulgares*, with a preface by the Bulgarian premier, is announced by Berger-Levrault of Paris. Charles-Lavauzelle of Paris announces *La Guerre des Balkans, Campagne de Thrace*, by A. de Penenurun, who was with the third Bulgarian army. The reverse side is shown in G. von Hochwächter's *Mit den Türken in der Front im Stabe Mahmud Muchtar Paschas* (Berlin, Mittler).

Messrs. Jarrold and Sons announce *A History of Montenegro*, by Mr. Francis Seymour Stevenson.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ernst Meyer, *Zur Hundertschaft in Skandinavien, zugleich eine Besprechung von Sven Tunberg, Studier rörande Skandinaviens Äldsta Politiska Indelning* (Historische Vierteljahrsschrift, XXIV. 1); J. Steenstrup, *Kong Frederik VIII., en Mindetale* (Tilskueren, November); F. Knauer, *Der Russische Nationalname und die Indogermanische Urheimat* (Indogermanische Forschungen, XXXI. 1); V. Voronovsky, *The National War of 1812 in the Province of Smolensk* (Russian Review, November); A. Kornilov, *The Napoleonic Wars and Later Russian History* (ibid.); T. Volkov, *The Ukraine Question* (ibid.).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

A new history of China is Hermann's *Chinesische Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Gundert, 1912).

The *Journal of Race Development* begins in the January issue a series of articles upon the Chinese revolution and various phases of recent Chinese history.

The first volume of a history of *Der Seekrieg zwischen Russland und Japan, 1904-1905*, has appeared from the press of Mittler, Berlin.

Fisher Unwin has announced *The Malay Peninsula: a Record of British Progress in the Middle East*, by Arnold Wright and Thomas H. Reid, an account of British influence in the East from the earliest times to the present. For the earlier years the records of the East India Company have been the chief source.

A comprehensive *History of India* from the earliest times to the present day, on the model of the *Cambridge Modern History*, is in preparation by the Cambridge University Press. The work will be in six volumes, divided equally among the three main periods—Ancient India, Muhammadan India, and British India. These three parts will be edited respectively by Professor E. J. Rapson, Lieut.-Col. T. Wolsley Haig, and Sir Theodore Morison.

James Burgess's *The Chronology of Modern India for Four Hundred Years from the Close of the Fifteenth Century, A. D., 1494-1894* (Edinburgh, John Grant), is a valuable reference book to those interested in Indian history.

The Hakluyt Society has recently issued volume II. of *A New Account of East India and Persia, being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-1681*, by John Fryer, edited by Mr. W. Crooke.

A new edition of J. Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* has been published by Kegan Paul of London in three volumes.

A. Martineau, formerly governor of French India, has edited the *État Politique de l'Inde en 1777 par Law de Lauriston, Gouverneur-Général des Établissements Français aux Indes* (Paris, Champion, 1912, pp. 189).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Cordier, *L'Islam en Chine*, I. (*Journal des Savants*, January); *id.*, *Le Premier Traité de la France avec le Japon, 1858* (*T'Oung Pao*, May).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The staff of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been increased by the addition of Dr. Charles O. Paullin, who has been placed in charge of the preparation of the proposed Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States.

Dr. Jameson and Mr. Leland have sailed for Europe, the former to attend the International Congress of Historical Studies in London, and for other purposes centring in England, the latter to attend the congress and then to complete at Paris the gathering of data for his Guide to materials for American history in the archives of that city. Mr. Roscoe R. Hill's work in Seville, in calendaring the materials for United States history in the section of the Archives of the Indies called "Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba", was brought to a conclusion at the end of March and he returns to the United States to prepare a volume descriptive of those materials. This volume will present a brief description of each *legajo*; but itemized lists of the documents in all the more important *legajos* have been prepared in manuscript and will be at the service of all historical scholars at the offices of the Department in Washington. It is expected that Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College will by further researches in the Netherlands prepare for the Department a Guide to the materials for United States history in the archives of that country, and that Professor F. A. Golder of the Washington State College will perform a similar service in the archives of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Professor Faust, as indicated in our last issue, is already at work in Vienna.

The Omnibus Public Buildings Act, passed in the last hours of the 62d Congress, on the morning of March 4, 1913, contains provisions looking toward the erection of a National Archive Building in the city of Washington. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed, after inspection of the best modern national archive buildings in Europe, and consultation with the best authorities there, to prepare designs and estimates for a fireproof building containing not less than three million cubic feet of space, upon a lot of land large enough to contain ultimately a building of three times that size. The cost of the proposed building is limited to \$1,500,000. Whenever the designs and estimates have been approved by a commission consisting of the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, and the secretaries of the Treasury, of War, and of the Interior, the Secretary of the Treasury is given authority to acquire a site approved by the commission.

The *Report* of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, has appeared (pp. 235). Among the noteworthy accessions of the year have been the Deinard collection of Hebraica, presented by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, the Karow collection of works relating to Napoleon Bonaparte, a large collection of books, pamphlets, and periodicals relating to Mexico and Central America, presented by the Mexican embassy, and the Hoes collection of works relating to the Spanish-American War. Of accessions of historical manuscripts, the more important—the Maury papers, Van Buren papers, Stanton papers, Mexican Inquisition papers, the Iturbide papers, papers of Admiral Foote, of Gideon Welles, and the papers of the Earl of Wilmington relating to the American colonies—have already been mentioned in preceding issues

of the REVIEW. The acquisition of 131 unpublished letters of Thomas Jefferson and of the papers of Governor and Senator J. H. Hammond of South Carolina, is also noteworthy. Included in the *Report* is a comprehensive description of the specimens from the files of the House of Representatives recently transferred to the library. The library now has in press the calendar of the papers of John J. Crittenden, prepared by W. R. Leech and C. N. Feamster, and will shortly issue Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick's calendar of Washington's Military Correspondence during the Revolution.

The Library of Congress has issued *A Check List of American Eighteenth Century Newspapers in the Library of Congress* (pp. 186), compiled by J. V. N. Ingram, and superseding so much of the *Check List* published in 1901 as pertained to newspapers of the eighteenth century, as it not only brings the record of the files down to date, but is much more detailed in data and more specific as to the conditions of the files, indicating precisely the issues possessed by the library.

Professor J. Basdevant of the University of Grenoble has published a full discussion of the latest phase of the much-vexed fisheries question, *L'Affaire des Pêcheries des Côtes Septentrionales de l'Atlantique entre les États-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne devant la Cour de la Haye* (Paris, Pedone, 1912).

The Macmillan Company will publish this spring *A History of the American Negro*, by Benjamin G. Brawley. The history of slavery in America is outlined, but special attention is given to the educational and cultural phases of negro history.

The *Deutsche-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* of Chicago, hitherto a quarterly, will in the future appear as a year-book, of a more scientific character, under the editorship of Professor Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois. The first of these annual volumes is just upon the point of publication.

The September-December issue of the *German American Annals* presents as its principal article a biographical sketch by Preston A. Barba, of Friederich Armand Strubberg (1806-1889), whose career was closely connected with the settlement of Germans in Texas in the forties, and whose literary works depict life in that frontier region. Mr. Charles F. Brede's papers on the German Drama in English on the Philadelphia Stage are continued.

Mr. Otto Lohr has issued through G. E. Stechert and Company a short essay (pp. 15) on *The First Germans in North America and the German Element of New Netherland*.

The Scottish Historical Society of North America has arranged for the publication at Boston of a quarterly magazine to be devoted to the interests of the Scottish people in the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Newfoundland.

L. Villari has published a small volume dealing with the Italian side of a question of interest to the United States, *Gli Stati Uniti d'America e l'Emigrazione Italiana* (Milan, Treves, 1912, pp. 313).

Volume VI. part II., of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society (December, 1912), includes a critical paper, by Rev. Joseph Fischer, S. J., upon "An Important Ptolemy Manuscript, with Maps, in the New York Public Library", an elaborate account, by Rev. P. J. Hayes, of the elevation of Archbishop Farley of New York to the cardinalate, and a biographical account, by C. G. and H. F. Herbermann, of Father Pierre Gibault, together with English translations of the Gibault letters which were printed in volume XIV. of the REVIEW. English translations of several of these letters have appeared elsewhere (see *Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. V., and *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, vols. XVIII. and XX.). The volume contains also a bibliography of John G. Shea, by Rev. Edward Spillane, S. J., and a register of the clergy laboring in the archdiocese of New York from early missionary times to 1885, contributed by Rev. M. A. Corrigan.

The first volume of Professor Charles A. Beard's *Economic History of the United States* will shortly come from the press (Macmillan). It bears the title *The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Henri Vignaud has placed his imprimatur upon H. Beuchat's *Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine, Amérique Préhistorique, Les Civilisations Disparues* (Paris, Picard, 1913, pp. vii, 747) by writing the preface. The volume is fully illustrated.

M. Gabriel Chinard, now teaching in the University of California, is about to publish a volume on *L'Amérique et le Rêve Exotique dans la Littérature Française au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle*, in continuation of his previous volume on the same subject for the sixteenth century. This book will be followed by a third, on *Les Relations Intellectuelles de la France et de l'Amérique au XIX^e Siècle*.

The first part (two volumes) of Mr. George Louis Beer's *The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754*, which will be complete in three parts, has been published by the Macmillan Company. Part I., *The Establishment of the System*, covers the years 1660-1688.

Charles Scribner's Sons announce for spring publication the *Life and Letters of John Paul Jones*, in two volumes, by Mrs. Reginald De Koven.

The Essex Institute has brought out *American Vessels captured by the British during the Revolution and War of 1812* (pp. 166), printed from the records of the vice-admiralty court at Halifax, Nova Scotia. These are for the most part the bare records of condemnation of prizes and recaptures, taken from the registers and printed in condensed form, but they contain also numerous depositions concerning captures. The

records for each period are arranged in an alphabetical order by the names of the vessels.

Mr. Charles Evans has brought out volume VII. of his *American Bibliography, 1639-1820*. The volume, which covers the years 1786-1789, lists 2848 books, pamphlets, and periodicals.

Professor Max Farrand will shortly bring out through the Yale University Press a small book on *The Framing of the Constitution of the United States*.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company will add this spring to their *Home University Library* series a volume by Professor William MacDonald of Brown University, entitled *From Jefferson to Lincoln*.

In *Documents relating to the Invasion of Canada and the Surrender of Detroit, 1812*, selected and edited by Lieut.-Col. E. A. Cruikshank (*Publications of the Canadian Archives*, no. 7, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1913, pp. vii, 258), many of the documents, particularly the correspondence of General Hull, have been printed before; but a larger number of them are now published for the first time. These are principally from the Dominion archives. The editor has supplied many useful notes and has included in the volume two maps, one of the lake region, from a sketch by Sir Isaac Brock (London, 1813), and "A Sketch of the Communication between Erie and Huron by T. S. of Sandwich U. C."

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has in press an index, extending to several volumes, compiled by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, which affords reference to the entire published records of documents, papers, correspondence, and, to a considerable extent, legislation and decisions upon international and diplomatic questions, between the years 1828 and 1861.

It is understood that Professor John B. McMaster will bring out this spring through D. Appleton and Company the final volume of his *History of the People of the United States*.

The Political Debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, with an introduction by George Haven Putnam (Putnams, pp. xvii, 377, 284), includes, besides the speeches in the seven set debates, those preliminary speeches of each which are essentially a part of the joint discussion, namely, those of Lincoln at Springfield, June 17, 1858, at Chicago, July 10, and at Springfield, July 17, and those of Douglas at Chicago, June 9, at Bloomington, July 16, and at Springfield, July 17. The correspondence between Lincoln and Douglas preliminary to the debates is also included. No good reason appears why the volume should be divided into two parts, with separate paging.

The lectures on the American Civil War which Dr. James Ford Rhodes delivered at Oxford last year have just been published in book form by the Macmillan Company.

Dr. Frederic Bancroft has for some time been at work on an edition of the writings and correspondence of Carl Schurz, which is to be issued before long by Messrs. Putnam.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have brought out *The Last Leaf: Observations, during Seventy-five Years, of Men and Events in America and Europe*, by James Kendall Hosmer, LL.D.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

By an error in a note in our last issue, page 436, Ginn and Company were named as the publishers of President Charles H. Levermore's *Forerunners and Competitors of the Pilgrims*. On the contrary this work, in two volumes, is being privately printed for distribution among the members of the New England Society of Brooklyn.

A History of Garland, Maine (pp. 401), by Lyndon Oak, has been published in Bangor by J. M. Oak.

A History of the Town of Canterbury, New Hampshire, 1727-1912, in two volumes, by J. O. Lyford, is published in Concord by the Rumford Press.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has brought out volume XVIII. of the *Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (pp. 899). The volume, which is also designated as volume XIII. of the Appendix, contains the resolves, orders, votes, etc., of the period from 1765 to 1774, presented practically without annotation, but with careful indexes.

The October serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a valuable paper by Mr. Charles Francis Adams on the Negotiations of 1861 relating to the Declaration of Paris of 1861, and one by Mr. Edward Stanwood on the Development under the Constitution of the President's Power. The November fascicle includes a paper by Dr. G. W. Allen on the State Navies and Privateers in the Revolution, and one by Rear-Admiral Chadwick on the American Navy, 1775-1815. There is also printed in these proceedings an interesting despatch from George Canning to Sir Charles Vaughan, British minister to the United States. The despatch is dated February 8, 1826, and bears upon the Monroe Doctrine. The December-January issue has a paper by Mr. Edwin D. Mead on Thomas Hooker's Farewell Sermon in England.

A History of Lexington, Massachusetts, from its Settlement to the Present Time, by Sarah E. Robinson, is published in Lexington by the author. The work is in two volumes and is illustrated.

The contents of the January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* include a diary for the year 1759 kept by Samuel Gardner of Salem; Old Norfolk County deeds, 1671-1689; a continuation of a genealogical-historical visitation of Andover, Massachusetts, in the year 1863, by Alfred Poor; and Newspaper Items relating to Essex County (1763).

The Holyoke Diaries, 1789-1856, with introduction and annotations by George Francis Dow, published by the Essex Institute, comprises diaries of various members of the Holyoke family, including Rev. Edward Holyoke, president of Harvard College, 1737-1769, his son Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, and Mrs. Mary (Vial) Holyoke of Salem, 1760-1800. Portions of the diaries which were considered to be unimportant have been omitted. The editor has supplied numerous notes, and a genealogy of the Holyoke family. There are thirty-six portraits and other illustrations.

Captain Luis Fenollosa Emilio, who presented to the Essex Institute in 1908 the collection of military buttons which he had spent more than a quarter of a century in gathering together, has prepared a descriptive catalogue of the collection (1569 specimens) which the institute has published: *The Emilio Collection of Military Buttons . . . in the Museum of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts* (pp. xxi, 264).

The Connecticut Historical Society has brought out a volume entitled *Original Distribution of the Lands in Hartford among the Settlers, 1639*, edited by Mr. Albert C. Bates, who writes an introduction for the volume. These records of ownership and transfer of lands in the Hartford settlement were made during practically a century from its beginnings and cast light on the early history of the town. The volume includes also the early vital records of Hartford (extending to about 1750), found in the same manuscript volume from which the land records are taken.

The *Proceedings*, vol. XI. (pp. 381), of the New York Historical Association (thirteenth annual meeting, at Kingston, September 12, 13, and 14, 1911) has come from the press. Of the numerous papers of the meeting the following are noteworthy: "The Valley of the Rondout and Neversink and its unsettled Colonial Questions", by Thomas E. Benedict; "The Huguenot Settlement of Ulster County", by G. D. B. Hasbrouck; "The Scotch Irish in America and New York", by Henry M. McCracken; "The Hudson, its Aboriginal Occupation, Discovery, and Settlement", by William Wait; "Cooperation of Historical and Patriotic Organizations", by F. H. Wood; and "Preliminary Sketch of the Old Dutch Church of Kingston, New York, and some of its Ministers", by Chaplain R. R. Hoes, U. S. N. Bound in the same volume with the *Proceedings*, but paged separately, is a revised translation, by Samuel Oppenheim, of the Dutch Records of Kingston, 1658-1684. It bears upon the title-page: *The Dutch Records of Kingston, Ulster County, New York (Esopus, Wildwyck, Swanenburgh, Kingston), 1658-1684, with some later Dates*. What is here printed is part I., May 31, 1658-November 18, 1664, and relates to Esopus and Wildwyck. The basis is the translation made some years ago by Dingman Versteeg. There is a useful historical introduction of sixteen pages.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains a biographical sketch of the late John Jacob Astor, by Capt. Richard Henry Greene, and Four Generations in America of the

Huguenot Family of Stelle, by Maud Burr Morris. The records of baptisms of the Reformed Church at Machackemeck (Deerpark) are continued.

Mr. Eugene L. Armbruster, of 263 Eldert Street, Brooklyn, is the author and publisher of a small volume entitled *The Eastern District of Brooklyn*, in which is gathered a good deal of historical material pertaining to the locality, including numerous documents ranging in date from 1638 to the end of the nineteenth century. There are numerous pen-and-ink sketches of old houses, and several maps.

The November-December issue of *Penn Germania* contains extracts from the Brethren's House and Congregation Diaries of the Moravian Church at Lititz, Pennsylvania, relating to the Revolutionary War, translated by A. R. Beck. The January issue includes Christian Frederick Post's Part in the Capture of Fort DuQuesne and in the Conquest of the Ohio, by G. P. Donehoo, and the Saratoga Campaign as a Type of New York History, by H. M. McCracken.

A History of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, published by authority of the regimental association, is issued by the Franklin Bindery, Philadelphia.

In the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the letters of Rev. Jonathan Boucher (1767), Land Notes, 1634-1655, and Vestry Proceedings, St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis (1727-1728) are continued. Other items are: a diary kept by Thomas Larkin of a journey to England and France in 1794 and 1795; a biographical sketch of Isaac Briggs (1763-1825), including a number of letters, by Ella Kent Barnard; and an account of the Defense of Baltimore in 1814, in the form of a letter from Captain James Piper to Brantz Mayer, written in 1854.

The Maryland Historical Society has brought out a new volume of the *Archives of Maryland*, edited by William Hand Browne. It includes the proceedings of the Council of Maryland, April 15, 1761-September 24, 1770, the minutes of the board of revenue, opinions on the regulation of fees, and instructions to Governor Eden (Baltimore, 1912, pp. xiv, 522).

The Virginia State Library has issued *A List of Newspapers in the Virginia State Library, Confederate Museum, and Valentine Museum*, compiled by Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor and Miss Susie B. Harrison. The papers in each library are first listed in an alphabetical arrangement of the places of publication; there is then an arrangement of titles by states, and finally a chronological arrangement of titles. This triple arrangement makes the list a good working instrument.

The same library has also issued *A List of Manuscripts relating to the History of Agriculture in Virginia*, collected by N. F. Cabell, and now in the Virginia State Library (pp. 20), compiled by Earl G. Swem. These letters, extracts of letters, essays, etc., date from 1749 to 1879.

The contents of the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* include the commission and instructions to the Earl of Orkney for the government of Virginia (1714, 1715), a letter from the Virginia governor and council to Lord Arlington (1666); a description of the government of Virginia by Thomas Ludwell (1666); a letter from Governor Berkeley to Lord Arlington (1667); various council papers of 1698 and 1699, among them several naval orders signed by James Vernon, and a letter of Governor Nicholson to the governor of North Carolina (May 3, 1699); and a number of Revolutionary pension declarations, from the records of Augusta County, Virginia, contributed by Judge Lyman Chalkley. The Revolutionary army orders for the main army under Washington, 1778-1779, and minutes of the Council and General Court, 1622-1629, are continued.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly* continues in the January issue the records of Hanover County (principally 1783-1792), and the interesting diary of Colonel Landon Carter (1776), and prints, from the Bancroft transcripts in the Library of Congress, a number of the letters of Governor Francis Fauquier, 1766-1767.

The Hermitage Press of Richmond has brought out the *Discourse on the Lives and Characters of the Early Presidents and Trustees of Hampden-Sidney College* (pp. 46), delivered at the centenary of the founding of the college, on June 14, 1776, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL.D. There are several portraits in the pamphlet.

The *Memorial Day Annual* for 1912, a publication of the Department of Public Instruction of Virginia, includes the following papers: The Right of Secession, by H. J. Eckenrode; The Doctrine of Secession, by H. R. McIlwaine; The John Brown Raid, by Douglas S. Freeman; Virginia's Position in 1861: Views of all Sections of the State, by Edwin P. Cox; and Fort Sumter, by George L. Christian.

Mr. George Cabell Greer, of the Virginia state law office, has brought out through the W. C. Hill Printing Company, Richmond, *Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666* (pp. 376).

The Story of Cotton and the Development of the Cotton States, by E. C. Brooks, has been published by Rand, McNally, and Company.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has issued its *Fourth Biennial Report*. The commission has acquired during the biennial period several important bodies of manuscripts, among them the Pettigrew manuscripts, embracing papers of Rev. Charles Pettigrew (1748-1807), bishop-elect of North Carolina, Ebenezer Pettigrew (1783-1848), member of Congress (1835-1837), and Brigadier-General James J. Pettigrew (1828-1863). Other accessions of value are a collection of papers of the late Governor Charles B. Aycock and additional papers of David L. Swain and of William A. Graham. The commission will shortly bring out some hitherto unpublished material relating to Christopher de Graffenried's colonization enterprise in North Carolina. This material

was recently brought to light in Europe by Professor Julius Goebel of Illinois and will be published under his editorial supervision.

The proceedings of the thirteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (*Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 12) includes some noteworthy historical papers: The Historical Foundations of Democracy in North Carolina, by R. D. W. Connor; Neglected Phases of North Carolina History, by W. K. Boyd; and Nathaniel Macon, by Josephus Daniels. Included also is an address by Mr. R. D. W. Connor, delivered on the occasion of the presentation to the state by the North Carolina Historical Commission of a bust of John M. Moorehead.

In 1907 Dr. Kemp P. Battle brought out the first volume of his *History of the University of North Carolina*, relating the history of the institution to the year 1868 (see this journal, XIII. 426). In a second volume, just issued, Dr. Battle has brought the narrative down to the present time (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1912, pp. ix, 875). During the first seven years of this period the university was in a moribund state, practically without funds, faculty, or students. What life the war had left it was in danger of extinction by the poison of politics but its friends would not let the institution die, and since its reorganization in 1875 it has prospered. The administrative history of the university and its relations to the state and to the public, the expansion of its departments, the development of its curriculum, are related with some fullness; there are biographical notes and characterizations of the faculty, and extended records of commencement exercises and other occasions.

The interesting Diary of Timothy Ford, 1785-1786, with notes by Joseph W. Barnwell, which was begun in the July number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, is concluded in the issue for October. The principal remaining contents are continued articles heretofore mentioned.

The Georgia Historical Society has issued as *Collections*, vol. VII., part III., General James Oglethorpe's "The Spanish Official Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia, in America, and of its Defeat on St. Simon's Island." The society has in press the *Letters of Joseph Clay*, paymaster-general of the Southern department during the Revolution.

It is understood that volume XIII. of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society will probably be ready for distribution in April. It will contain four contributions, occupying about 400 pages, devoted entirely to local histories of reconstruction in Mississippi. They are: Reconstruction in Panola County, by J. W. Kyle; Reconstruction in Scott County, by F. G. Cooper; Reconstruction in LaFayette County, by Miss Julia Kendel; and Reconstruction in Oktibbeha County, by F. Z. Browne. These papers have been prepared in the historical seminary of the University of Mississippi under the direction of Professor Franklin L. Riley, who is also editor of the *Publications*.

The Louisiana Historical Society has issued its *Publications*, vols. V. and VI. Among the papers in vol. V. are the Title to the Jesuits' Plantation, Memorial of the Marigny Family, and Early Census of Louisiana, 1702-1721. Volume VI. is the centennial number.

The contents of the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* include a carefully prepared paper on the Eastern Boundary of California in the Convention of 1849, by Cardinal Goodwin. The writer overthrows the charge, often made, that the Southern men in the convention contended for an extreme eastern boundary with a view to bringing about a division into two states, the southern to be open to slavery. Other contents of the issue are Charles W. Hackett's second paper on the Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680 and the Beginnings of El Paso, a brief account of Virginians who took part in the Texan struggle for independence, by James E. Winston; and a biographical sketch, by Miss Adèle B. Looscan, of Dugald McFarland, who took an active part in the war between Texas and Mexico. The correspondence from the British archives concerning Texas printed in this issue belongs to the early months of 1843.

The Texas Library and Historical Commission have brought out as the first fruits of their labors the *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861* (pp. 469), edited from the original by Ernest W. Winkler, state librarian. Some ordinances, reports of committees, and communications not recorded in the manuscript journal are inserted. In addition to the journal proper (pp. 251) the volume includes the Address to the People (pp. 10), issued March 30, 1861, by a committee of the convention; the reports of the Committee on Public Safety (pp. 143); a list of the delegates, showing nativity, occupation, etc.; and certificates of election (pp. 44).

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* devotes more than half of the January issue to a record of the fifth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Pittsburg, October 30-November 1, 1911. The principal papers and addresses of historical interest here printed are: The Influence of the Ohio River in Western Expansion, by Edwin Erle Sparks; Constructing a Navigation System in the West, by Miss H. Dora Stecker; The Pittsburg-Wheeling Rivalry for Commercial Headship on the Ohio, by J. M. Callahan; Ship and Brig Building on the Ohio and its Tributaries, by R. T. Wiley; Pittsburg a Key to the West during the American Revolution, by James A. James; and the Relation of New England to the Ohio Valley, by Carl R. Fish. Included in this issue is also the autobiography of Thomas Ewing, edited with numerous notes, by Clement L. Martzloff. The autobiography relates principally to Ohio in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Indiana Historical Survey will publish, as soon as funds sufficient for the purpose may be obtained, an *Historical Directory of Indiana Newspapers*, by Logan Esarey; an *Historical and Political Atlas of Indiana*, and *Party Platforms and Election Statistics to 1860*, by Ernest

V. Shockley. Plans have been made for the publication of the following collections: the House and Council Journals of Indiana Territory, the Messages of the Governors of Indiana, the Letters and Papers of Thomas A. Hendricks, the Letters and Papers of Joseph E. McDonald, and the Life and Letters of George W. Julian. Professor Harlow Lindley is now engaged in collecting and editing the Julian papers. The Survey also has in contemplation the preparation and publication in the near future of a number of monographs, among which are a bibliography of Indiana authors, by Messrs. Shockley and Esarey, a biographical dictionary of Indiana, contributions toward the history of religious settlements and movements in Indiana, and studies of the development of legislative processes and of foreign immigration in the state.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for December contains a well-written paper by Margrette Boyer on Morgan's Raid in Indiana, and some account of the names of the Ohio River, by J. P. Dunn. In the department of reprints is a fourth installment of A. C. Shortridge's *Schools of Indianapolis*.

The leading article in the October number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* is an autobiographical note of Stephen A. Douglas, for which Mr. Frank E. Stevens writes an introduction. This sketch, which bears the date September 1, 1838, pertains chiefly to the first few years of Douglas's career in Illinois. In the same issue of the *Journal* Mr. Paul Selby gives an account of the convention of the Anti-Nebraska editors at Decatur, Illinois, in 1856, and Rev. W. E. Griffiths relates some reminiscences of "The Past Three-Fourths of the Century". In the department of reprints are some extracts from *Way-side Glimpses, North and South* (New York, 1859), by Lillian Foster.

A History of Knox County, Illinois, in two volumes, by A. J. Perry, has been published by S. J. Clarke.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1911-1912 (pp. 268) has been issued. The volume includes principally the papers read at the fifth annual meeting of the association at Bloomington, Indiana, in May, 1912, some account of which was given in the issue of this journal for July, 1912 (XVII. 913).

Mr. Otto A. Rothert contributes to the January issue of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* a biographical account of Gen. J. P. G. Muhlenberg, being a chapter from his forthcoming work on the history of Muhlenberg County, Kentucky. In the same number Mr. A. C. Quisenberry writes of the campaign on the river Raisin in 1813, and contributes also a list of Kentuckians killed and wounded in the Mexican War. The *Register* prints some extracts from official proceedings (1824-1825) relative to the visit of General Lafayette, including some letters from Governor Desha to Lafayette.

A Standard History of Memphis, Tennessee (pp. 606), by J. P. Young, has been published in Knoxville by H. W. Crew and Company.

Mr. C. M. Burton has brought out under the auspices of the Michigan Society of Colonial Wars the *Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763* (pp. 243), in the original text and in translation on alternating pages. The translator, Mr. R. Clyde Ford, discusses at some length the authorship of the journal and inclines to ascribe it to Robert Navarre. The volume is edited, with explanatory notes, by M. Agnes Burton. The journal, which was the basis of Parkman's story of the events of 1763, is itself of unusual interest and its presentation in so acceptable a form will be welcomed by students of the period.

Mr. John M. Bulkley of Monroe, Michigan, has in preparation a *History of Monroe County, Michigan*, which will be brought out, in two volumes, by the Lewis Publishing Company.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued a second edition of the *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files* in the Library, compiled by Ada T. Griswold.

The January issue of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* includes a paper by Louis Pelzer on the Spanish Land Grants of Upper Louisiana, a contribution by Louis B. Schmidt on the History of Congressional Elections in Iowa, the subject of the present paper being the elections of 1848, and a reprint (from *House Ex. Doc. no. 168, 29 Cong., 1 sess.*) of Captain James Allen's Dragoon Expedition from Fort Des Moines, Territory of Iowa, in 1844, with an introduction, by Jacob Van der Zee. The reprint includes Allen's report as well as his journal.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has added to the *Iowa Economic History* series a volume on the *History of Road Legislation in Iowa*, by John E. Brindley, and another on the *History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa*, by E. H. Downey. The society has in press a *Biography of James Harlan*, senator from Iowa, 1867-1873, by Johnson Brigham.

The pages of the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* are largely occupied by a "Pioneer History of the Territorial and State Library of Iowa", by Johnson Brigham, state librarian. Mr. Charles R. Keyes discourses upon the history of primitive American lead mining.

A History of Carroll County, Iowa: a Record of Settlement, Organization, Progress, and Achievement, in two volumes, by Paul Maclean, has been published by S. J. Clarke.

Volume IV., no. 1, of *Missouri Historical Society Collections* (1912), contains the Journal of Jean Baptiste Trudeau among the Arikara Indians in 1795, translated from a copy in the Department of State, by Mrs. H. T. Beauregard. The editor of the collections furnishes an historical and critical introduction, including a facsimile of the map published in Perrin du Lac's *Voyage dans les deux Louisiannes*. Three of the articles in this volume relate to the Civil War: A Journey through the Lines in 1863, by Mrs. Lizzie Chambers Hull; Local Incidents of the Civil War, by Mrs. Hannah Isabel Stagg; and a bibliography of sanitary work in

St. Louis during the Civil War, by Dr. Roland G. Usher. Mr. Gerard Fowke contributes some notes on the aboriginal inhabitants of Missouri, and Walter J. Blakely writes a brief biographical sketch of J. A. MacGahan, whose writings as war correspondent in the Franco-Prussian War, in the Russo-Turkish War, and particularly his letters on the Bulgarian question attracted much attention.

In the *Missouri Historical Review* for January Mr. F. A. Samson sets forth some reasons why the state should give the society a fire-proof building. Other papers are: The Story of the Civil War in Northeast Missouri, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; History of Missouri Baptist General Association, by E. W. Stephens; and What I saw at Wilson's Creek, by Joseph A. Mudd.

The Kansas State Historical Society has issued the address, *History as an Asset of the State*, delivered before the society in December by Mr. William E. Connelley. The story of the memorial and historical building of the society, now nearing completion, is appended.

Mr. Raymond G. Taylor has published for use in schools a *Syllabus of Kansas History* (pp. 20), with references.

In 1840 was published in St. Louis a small volume describing a journey to the Rocky Mountains in the preceding year. The writer, F. A. Wislizenus, was a German doctor who had lived for some years in a German colony in Illinois. An English translation of this narrative has been published by the Missouri Historical Society.

The *Official Report* of the Historical Society of New Mexico for the period 1909-1912 has been issued. The society has acquired a considerable body of official papers of the "Northern Jurisdiction" (Santa Cruz) of the years 1821-1846, and also the remainder of the papers of Manuel Álvarez. The latter belong principally to the early days of the American occupation.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for June, 1912 (belated in its appearance), contains two excellent papers dealing with the period of joint occupancy of the Oregon country by the United States and Great Britain, the one "A Brief History of the Oregon Provisional Government and what caused its Formation", by Frederick V. Holman, the other, "How British and American Subjects united in a common Government for Oregon Territory in 1844", by Robert C. Clark. Mr. Leslie M. Scott discusses John Fiske's change of attitude on the Whitman legend, prints the pertinent part of Fiske's address as delivered at Astoria in 1892, and follows it with the revised form as it was published in 1909. The *Quarterly* prints William A. Slocum's report on Oregon 1836-1837, together with related correspondence.

The *Annual Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California includes a paper by Professor Rockwell D. Hunt on Hubert H. Bancroft, his work and his method, one by J. M. Gunn on Pioneer Rail-

roads of Southern California, and one by J. M. Dixon on Early Mexican and California Relations with Japan.

Messrs. Dutton and Company have brought out a new edition of C. E. Akers's *History of South America, 1854-1904*, to which has been added a chapter bringing the history down to date.

A Société d'Histoire de l'Amérique Latine has been formed in Paris which plans to publish an elaborate co-operative *Historie des Nations de l'Amérique Latine* under the editorial charge of Professor Seignobos. The work will be in fifteen quarto volumes and the edition limited to 700 sets at 1400 francs.

Volume IV. of *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, which was edited and published in Mexico by Genaro García, has been translated, with introduction and notes, by A. P. Maudslay, and published by the Hakluyt Society.

The Conquest of New Granada, by Sir Clements R. Markham, has been published by Dutton and Company.

L. A. de Herrera's work on the French Revolution and South America has been translated into French by S. G. Etchbarne (Paris, Grasset, 1912). The work is supplemented by C. A. Villanueva's *Napoléon y la Independencia de América* (Paris, Garnier, 1911, pp. xii, 383).

Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, director of the Archives of the Indies, has edited in five volumes the first series of *Independencia de América. Fuentes para su Estudio, Catálogo de Documentos Conservados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla* (Madrid, Sociedad de Publicaciones Históricas, 1912).

In the paper entitled *El General Urquiza y las supuestas Matanzas de Pago Largo, India Muerta y Vences* (Buenos Aires, Alsina), Amaranto A. Abeledo seeks to disprove the charges that General Urquiza executed hundreds of prisoners after these battles, presenting him in a very different character from that usually ascribed to him.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Henry Vignaud, *Americ Vespuce: l'Attribution de son Nom au Nouveau-Monde* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, tome IX., 1912); P. Besson, *Les Massacres de la Floride* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, July-August, 1912); John Finley, *The French in the Heart of America*, IV., V. (Scribner's Magazine, January, March); Archibald Henderson, *Forerunners of the Republic: I. General Richard Henderson; II. Daniel Boone and American Expansion* (Neale's Monthly, January, February); J. J. Jusserand, *Rochambeau in America*, concluded (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, December); M. B. Garrett, *The West Indian Negro Question and the French National Assembly, 1789-1791* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. A. Fairlie, *The President's Cabinet* (American Political Science Review, February); H. B. Learned, *Some Aspects of the Vice-Presidency* (ibid.); L. Didier, *Le Citoyen Genet*,

III. (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); A. M. Gould, *Luther Martin and the Trials of Chase and Burr*, I., II. (Georgetown Law Journal, November, January); D. R. Anderson, *A Jeffersonian Leader: William Branch Giles* (Sewanee Review, January); I. Lippincott, *The Early Salt Trade of the Ohio Valley* (Journal of Political Economy, December); M. Bollert, *Ein Brief von Karl Schurz aus dem Jahre 1850* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); L. M. Sears, *Slidell's Mission to Mexico* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Gamaliel Bradford, jr., *Confederate Patriots*; II. James Longstreet, III. J. E. B. Stuart (Atlantic Monthly, December, January); J. W. Week, *A New Story of Lincoln's Assassination* (Century, February); *The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson*: Gaillard Hunt, *The President's Defense*; B. C. Truman, *Anecdotes of Andrew Johnson* (ibid., January); C. O. Paullin, *A Half Century of Naval Administration in America, 1861-1911* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); J. B. Bishop, *The French at Panama* (Scribner's, January); H. A. Herbert, *Cleveland and his Cabinet at Work* (Century, March); Admiral George Dewey, *Autobiography* (Hearst's Magazine, January, February, March); G. L. B. Mackenzie, *French-Canadians in 1775 and 1812* (Canadian Magazine, March); F. A. Carman, *Our Archives and the National Spirit* (ibid., February).

